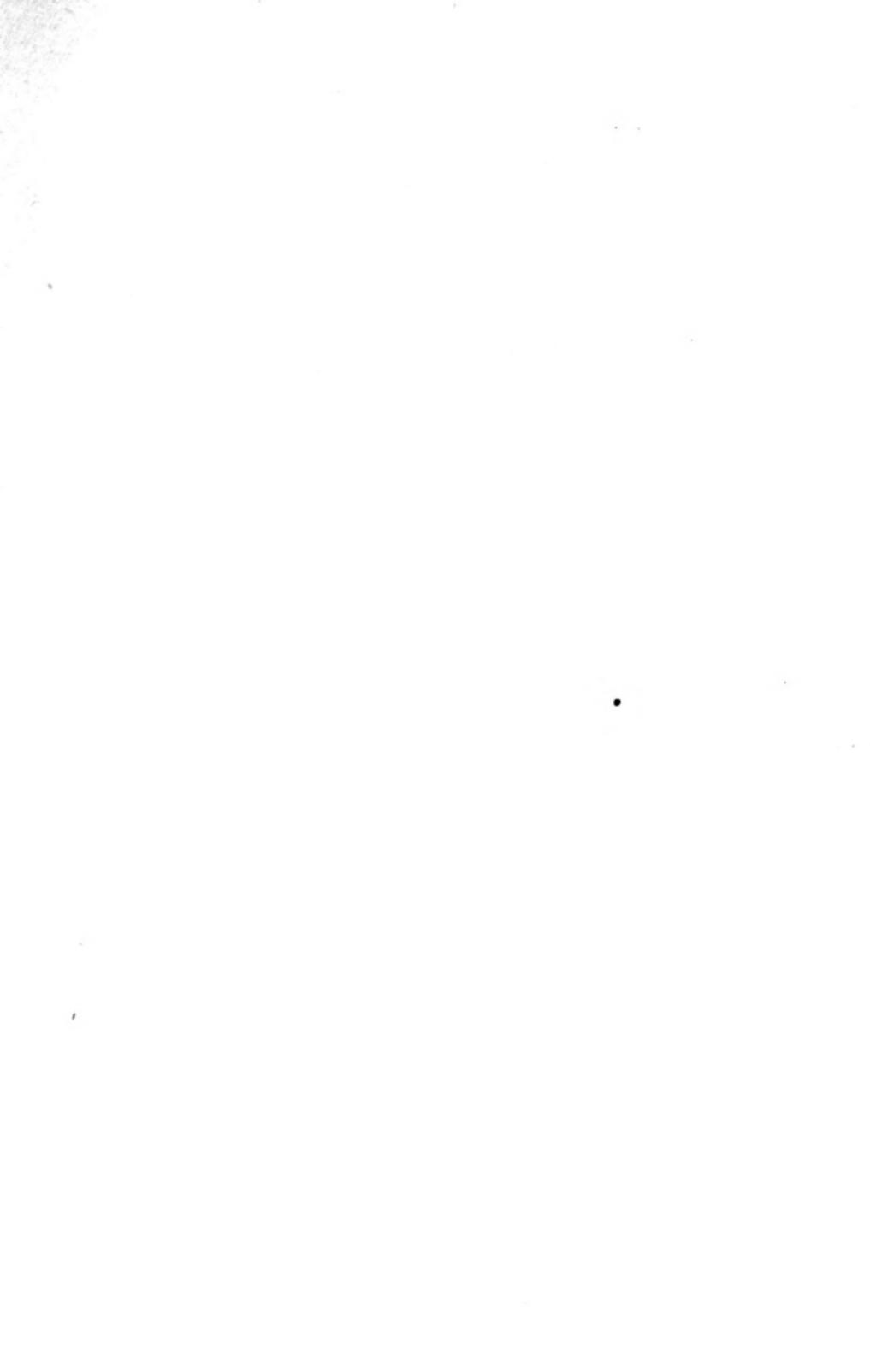


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ELOQUENT SONS of the South

A Handbook of Southern Oratory

Edited by

JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES
CLARK HOWELL
WALTER WILLIAMS



VOL. II

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ELOQUENT SONS
OF THE SOUTH

CHRONOLOGY

JEFFERSON DAVIS was born at Abbeville, Christian County, Kentucky, June 3, 1808.

At the age of three his father moved to Mississippi, where young Davis received an academic education.

1822-24 was in attendance at Transylvania University, Lexington, Kentucky. 1824, left the University to enter the United States Military Academy at West Point, from which he was graduated in 1828.

1831-32 was Lieutenant of Infantry and Lieutenant of Dragoons in the Black Hawk War and other operations against the Indians.

1835, resigned his commission and retired to a cotton plantation in Mississippi.

In 1845-46 was Democratic member of Congress from Mississippi.

1846-47, rendered distinguished services in the Mexican War.

1847, declined President Polk's appointment as Brigadier-General of Volunteers on the ground that the right of appointment to these posts was, by the Constitution, reserved to the states, holding that the President's appointment was in violation of state rights.

1847-51, Senator from Mississippi. 1853-57 Secretary of War. 1857-61, Senator from Mississippi. January 21, 1861, resigned seat in the Senate.

February 18, 1861, inaugurated provisional President of the Confederacy. February 22, 1862, inaugurated President of the Confederacy, which position he held until Lee's surrender in 1865.

Was captured at Irwinsky, Ga., May 10, 1865, and was imprisoned in Fortress Monroe 1865-67. Was amnestied in 1868.

Died in New Orleans December 6, 1889.



JEFFERSON DAVIS

Eloquent Sons of the South

JEFFERSON DAVIS

SPEECH ON THE RELATIONS OF STATES DELIVERED IN THE UNITED STATES SENATE ON MAY 7, 1860.

On March 1st, 1860, Mr. Davis, as Senator from Mississippi, submitted the following resolutions:

1. *Resolved*, That, in the adoption of the Federal Constitution, the states adopting the same acted severally as free and independent sovereignties, delegating a portion of their powers to be exercised by the Federal government for the increased security of each against dangers, *domestic* as well as foreign; and that any intermeddling by any one or more states, or by a combination of their citizens, with the domestic institutions of the others, on any pretext whatever, political, moral, or religious, with a view to their disturbance or subversion, is in violation of the Constitution, insulting to the states so interfered with, endangers their domestic peace and tranquility—objects for which the Constitution was formed—and, by necessary consequence, tends to weaken and destroy the Union itself.

2. *Resolved*, That negro slavery, as it exists in fifteen states of this Union, composes an important portion of their domestic institutions, inherited from their ancestors, and existing at the adoption of the Constitution, by which it is recognized as constituting an important element in the apportionment of power

among the states; and that no change of opinion or feeling on the part of the non-slaveholding states of the Union, in relation to this institution, can justify them, or their citizens, in open or covert attacks thereon, with a view to its overthrow; and that all such attacks are in manifest violation of the mutual and solemn pledge to protect and defend each other, given by the states respectively on entering into the constitutional compact which formed the Union, and are a manifest breach of faith, and a violation of the most solemn obligations.

3. *Resolved*, That the union of these states rests on the equality of rights and privileges among its members; and that it is especially the duty of the Senate, which represents the states in their sovereign capacity, to resist all attempts to discriminate either in relation to persons or property in the Territories, which are the common possessions of the United States, so as to give advantages to the citizens of one state which are not equally assured to those of every other state.

4. *Resolved*, That neither Congress nor a territorial legislature, whether by direct legislation, or legislation of an indirect and unfriendly character, possess power to annul or impair the constitutional right of any citizen of the United States to take his slave property into the common territories, and there hold and enjoy the same while the territorial condition remains.

5. *Resolved*, That if experience should at any time prove that the judicial and executive authority do not possess means to insure adequate protection to constitutional rights in a territory, and if the territorial government should fail or refuse to provide the necessary remedies for that purpose, it will be the duty of Congress to supply such deficiency.

6. *Resolved*, That the inhabitants of a territory of the United States, when they rightfully form a constitution to be admitted as a state into the Union, may then, for the first time, like the people of a state when forming a new constitution, decide for themselves whether slavery, as a domestic institution, shall be maintained or prohibited within their jurisdiction;

and "they shall be received into the Union with or without slavery, as their constitution may prescribe at the time of their admission."

7. *Resolved*, That the provision of the Constitution for the rendition of fugitives from service or labor, without the adoption of which the Union could not have been formed, and that the laws of 1793 and 1850, which were enacted to secure its execution, and the main features of which, being similar, bear the impress of nearly seventy years of sanction by the highest judicial authority, should be honestly and faithfully observed and maintained by all who enjoy the benefits of our compact of union; and that all acts of individuals or of state legislatures to defeat the purpose or nullify the requirements of that provision, and the laws made in pursuance of it, are hostile in character, subversive of the Constitution, and revolutionary in their effect.

The consideration of these resolutions having been resumed, Mr. Davis addressed the Senate as follows:

MR. PRESIDENT:

Among the many blessings for which we are indebted to our ancestry, is that of transmitting to us a written Constitution; a fixed standard to which, in the progress of events, every case may be referred and by which it may be measured. But for this the wise men who formed our government dared not have hoped for its perpetuity; for they saw floating down the tide of time wreck after wreck, marking the short life of every Republic which had

preceded them. With this, however, to check, to restrain, and to direct their posterity, they might reasonably hope the government they founded should last forever; that it would secure the great purposes for which it was ordained and established; that it would be the shield of their posterity equally in every part of the country, and equally in all time to come. It was this which mainly distinguished the formation of our government from those confederacies or republics which had preceded it; and this is the best foundation for our hope of a perpetuity to the peace, power, and prosperity our Union has conferred. The resolutions which have been read, and which I had the honor to present to the Senate, are little more than the announcement of what I hold to be the clearly expressed declarations of the Constitution itself. To that fixed standard it is sought, at this time, when we are drifting far from the initial point, and when clouds and darkness hover over us, to bring back the government, and to test our present

condition by the rules which our fathers laid down for us in the beginning.

The differences which exist between distinct portions of the country, the rivalries and the jealousies of today, though differing in degree, are exactly of the nature of those which preceded the formation of the Constitution. Our fathers were aware of the conflicting interests of the navigating and planting states, as they were then regarded. They sought to compose those difficulties, and, by compensating advantages given by one to the other, to form a government equal and just in its operation; and which, like the gentle showers of heaven, should fall twice blessed, blessing him that gives and him that receives. This beneficial action and reaction between the different interests of the country constituted the bond of union and the motive of its formation. They constitute it still, if we are sufficiently wise to appreciate our interests, and sufficiently faithful to observe our trust. Indeed, with the extension of territory, with the multiplication of interests, with the

varieties increasing from time to time of the products of this vast country, the bonds which bind the Union together should have increased. Rationally considered, they have increased, because the free trade which was established by the Union of the states has now become more valuable to the people thus united than their trade with the rest of the world.

I do not propose to argue questions of natural rights and inherent powers; I plant my reliance upon the Constitution; that Constitution which we have all sworn to support; that Constitution which, as the civil supreme, we have solemnly pledged ourselves to maintain while we hold the seats we now occupy in the Senate; to which we are bound in its spirit and in its letter, not grudgingly, but willingly, to render our obedience and support; as long as we hold office under the Federal government; neither in conscience nor in conduct can there be for us a higher authority. When the tempter entered the garden of Eden to taint its purity, to blight its peace-

ful happiness, and induced our common mother to offend against the law which God had given to her through Adam, he was the first teacher of that "higher law" which sets the will of the individual above the solemn rule which he is bound, as a part of every community, to observe. From the effect of the introduction of that teaching of the higher law in the garden of Eden, and the fall consequent upon it, came sin into the world; and from sin came death and banishment and subjugation, as the punishments of sin, the loss of life, unfettered liberty, and perfect happiness followed from that first great law which was given by God to fallen man.

Why, then, shall we talk about natural rights? Who is to define them? Where is the judge that is to sit over the courts to try natural rights? What is the era at which you will determine the breadth, the length, and the depth of those called the rights of nature? Shall it be after the fall, when woman had been made subject, when the earth was covered with thorns,

and man had to earn his bread in the sweat of his brow? Or shall it be when there was equality between the sexes, when he lived in the garden, when all his wants were supplied, and when thorns and thistles were unknown on the face of the earth? Shall it be after the flood, when, for the first sin committed after the waters had retired from the face of the earth, the doom of slavery was fixed upon the mongrel descendants of Ham? If it be after the flood, after those decrees, how idle is this prating about natural rights as though still containing all that had been forfeited, as being, in the present condition of man, above the obligations of the civil government?

The Constitution is the law supreme of every American. It is the plighted faith of our fathers; it is the hope of our posterity. Then, I come not to argue questions outside of or above the Constitution, but to plead the cause of right, of law and order under the Constitution, and to plead it to those who have sworn to abide by its obligations.

One of the fruitful sources, as I hold it, of the errors which prevail in our country, is the theory that this is a government of one people; that the government of the United States was formed by a mass; and therefore it is taken that all are responsible for the institutions and policies of each. The government of the United States is a compact between the sovereign members who formed it; and if there be one feature common to all the colonies planted upon the shores of America, it was the steady assertion of, and uncompromising desire for, community independence. It was for this the Puritan, the Huguenot, the Catholic, the Quaker, the Protestant, left the land of their nativity, and the fires of European persecution, whose shadows pointed to an American refuge of civil and religious freedom. They did not, however, come here with the enlarged idea of no established religion. The Puritans drove out the Quakers; the Church of England men drove out the Catholics. Persecution reigned through the colonies, except, per-

haps, that of the Catholic colony of Maryland; the rule was persecution for individual non-conformity. Therefore, I assert the common idea, and the only common idea, was community independence—the right of each independent people to do as they pleased in their domestic affairs.

The declaration of independence was made by the colonies, each for itself. The recognition of their independence was not for the colonies united, but for each of the colonies which had maintained its independence; and so when the Constitution was formed, the delegates were not elected by the people *en masse*, but they came from each one of the states; and, when so formed, it was referred, not to the people *en masse*, but to the states severally, and by them severally ratified and adopted; and this separate, independent action is palpably manifest in the different dates at which it received this approval of the states. From first to last, nearly two years and a half elapsed; and the government went into operation something like a year before

the last ratification was made. Is it, then, contended, that by this ratification and adoption of the Constitution, the states surrendered that sovereignty which they had previously gained? Can it be that men who braved the perils of the ocean, the privations of the wilderness, who fought the war of the Revolution for community independence, should, in the hour of their success, when all was sunshine and peace around them, come voluntarily forward to lay down that boon for which they had suffered so much and so long? Reason forbids it; but if reason did not furnish a sufficient answer, the action of the states, when making the ratification, disproves it. The great state of New York—great, relatively, then, as she is now—manifested her wisdom in not receiving merely that implication which belongs to the case, and which was accepted as a sufficient assurance by the other states, but she entered her positive assertion of that retention of her sovereignty and power as the condition on which she ratified the Constitution. I read

from Elliott's Debates, page 327. Among her resolutions of ratification is the following:

"That the powers of government may be reassumed by the people whensoever it shall become necessary to their happiness; every other power, jurisdiction, and right, which is not by the said Constitution clearly delegated to the Congress of the United States, or the departments of the government thereof, remains to the people of the several states, or to their respective state governments to whom they may have granted the same."

North Carolina, with the Scotch caution which subsequent events have so well justified, in 1788 passed this resolution:

"Resolved, That a declaration of rights, asserting and securing from encroachments the great principles of civil and religious liberty, and the inalienable rights of the people, together with amendments to the most ambiguous and exceptionable parts of the said Constitution of government, ought to be laid before Congress and the convention of the states that shall or may be called for the purpose of amending the said Constitution, for their consideration, previous to the ratification of the Constitution aforesaid on the part of the state of North Carolina."

And in keeping with this, North Carolina withheld her ratification; she allowed the government to be formed by the number of states which was required to put it in operation, and still she remained out of the

Union, asserting for herself and recognized as separately possessing the independence which she had maintained against Great Britain, and which she had no idea of surrendering to any other power. The last state which ratified the Constitution, long after it had in fact gone into effect, Rhode Island, in the third of her resolutions, says:

“III. That the powers of government may be reassumed by the people whensoever it shall become necessary to their happiness. That the rights of states respectively to nominate and appoint all state officers, and every other power, jurisdiction, and right, which is not by the said Constitution clearly delegated to the Congress of the United States, or to the departments of government thereof, remain to the people of the several states, or to their respective state governments to whom they may have granted the same.”

Here the use of the phrase “state governments” shows how utterly unwarrantable the construction that the reference was to the whole people of the states—to the people of all the states—and not to the people of each of the states severally.

I have spoken of the difference of policies, products, population, constituting the great motive of the Union. It, indeed, was its necessity. Had all the people been alike,

had their institutions all been the same, there would have been no interest to bring them together; there would have been no cause for commercial regulation or necessity for restraint being imposed upon them. It was the fact that they differed which rendered it necessary to have some law governing their intercourse. It was the fact that their products were opposite—that their pursuits were various—that rendered it the great interest of the people that they should have free trade; such free trade, said Dr. Franklin, between the states as existed between the counties of England.

Since that era, however, a fibre then unknown in the United States, and the production of which is dependent upon the domestic institution of African slavery, has come to be cultivated in such amounts, to enter so largely into the investments of manufacturers, into the productive wealth of the world, so greatly to add to the employment of the industrious and contribute to the comfort of the poor, that it may be

said that little fibre, cotton, wraps the commercial world, and binds it to the United States in bonds to keep the peace with us which no government of Europe would likely break. It has built up the great manufacturing cities of the Eastern states.

It supports their shipping, the foreign as well as the coastwise trade. It enables them to purchase in the market of China, when the high premium to be paid on the milled dollar would otherwise exclude them from that market. These are a part of the blessings resulting from that increase and variety of product which could not have existed if our domestic institutions had all been alike; and which would have been lost unless free trade between the United States had been granted and preserved.

And here I will remark that it strikes me as more than wonderful, that a book recently issued has received the commendation of a large number of the representatives of the manufacturing and commercial states, though, apart from its

falsification of statistics and low abuse of Southern states, institutions, and interests, the feature which stands prominently out from it is the arraignment of the South for using their surplus money in buying the manufactures of the North. How a manufacturing and commercial people can be truly represented by those who would inculcate such doctrines as these, is to me passing strange. Is it vain boasting which renders them anxious to proclaim to the world that we buy our buckets, our rakes, and our shovels from them? No, they have too much good sense for that; and therefore I am at a loss to understand the motive, unless it be that deep-rooted hate which makes them blind to their own interest when that interest is weighed in the balance with the denunciation and detraction of their brethren of the South.

The great principle which lay at the foundation of this fixed standard, the Constitution of the United States, was the equality of rights among the states. The recognition of this was essential; it was

necessary; it was a step which had to be taken before further progress could be made. It was the essential attribute of sovereignty in the state; the primary condition of a federal compact voluntarily entered into between sovereigns; and it is that equality of right under the Constitution on which we now insist. But more, when the states united, they transferred their forts, their armament, their ships, and their right to maintain armies and navies, to the Federal government. It was the disarmament of the states, under the operation of a league which constituted a general agent and made the warlike operations, the powers of defence, common to them all. Then, with this equality of the states, with this disarmament of them, if there had been nothing in the Constitution to express it, I say the federal duty to afford protection to every constitutional right would follow as a necessary incident, and could not be denied by anyone who could understand and would admit the true theory of such a government.

We claim protection, first, because it is our right; secondly, because it is the duty of the general government to ensure it; and, thirdly, because we have entered into a compact together, which deprives each state of the power of using all the means which it might otherwise employ for its own defence. This is the general theory of the right of protection. What is the exception to it? Is there an exception? If so, who made it? Does the Constitution discriminate between different kinds of property? Did the Constitution attempt to assimilate the institutions of the different states confederated together? Was there a single state in this Union that would have been so unfaithful to the principles declared and maintained in their colonial condition, and which had prompted them at a still earlier period, to brave the privations of the wilderness—is there one which would have consented to allow the Federal government to control her domestic affairs or to discriminate between her institutions and those of her confederate states.

But if it be contended that this is only argument, and that you need authority, I will draw it from the fountain—from the spring before it had been polluted; from the debates in the formation of the Constitution, from the views of those who, it will be admitted, at least, understood what the convention designed to do. Mr. Randolph, it will be recollected, introduced a *projet* for a government, consisting of a series of resolutions. Among them was one which proposed to give Congress the power “to call forth the forces of the Union against any member of the Union failing to fulfill its duty under the articles thereof.” That was, to give Congress the power to coerce the states; to bring the states into subjection to the Federal government. Now, sir, let us see how that was treated; and first I will refer to one whose wisdom, as we take a retrospective view, seems to me marvelous. Not conspicuous in debate—at least not among the names which first occur when we think of that bright galaxy of patriots and statesmen—he was

the man who, above all others, laid his finger upon every danger and indicated the course which that danger was to take. I refer to Mr. Mason.

"Mr. Mason observed, not only that the present Confederation was deficient in not providing for coercion and punishment against delinquent states, but argued very cogently that punishment could not, in the nature of things, be executed on the states collectively; and, therefore, that such a government was necessary as could directly operate on individuals, and would punish those only whose guilt required it."—*Elliott's Debates*, vol. 5, page 133.

Mr. Madison, who has been sometimes called the father of the Constitution, upon the same question, said:

"A union of the states containing such an ingredient seemed to provide for its own destruction. The use of force against a state would look more like a declaration of war than an infliction of punishment, and would probably be considered by the party attacked as a dissolution of all previous compacts by which it might be bound."

Mr. Hamilton, who, to express a judgment by way of comparison, I would say was the master intellect of the age in which he lived—whose mind seemed to penetrate profoundly every question with which he grappled, and who seldom failed to exhaust

the subject which he treated—Mr. Hamilton, enumerating the various powers necessary to maintain a government, said:

“4. Force, by which may be understood a coercion of laws, or coercion of arms. Congress have not the former, except in few cases. In particular states, this coercion is nearly sufficient; though he held it, in most cases, not entirely so. A certain portion of military force is absolutely necessary in large communities. Massachusetts is now feeling this necessity, and making provision for it. But how can this force be exerted on the states collectively? It is impossible. It amounts to a war between the parties. Foreign powers, also, will not be idle spectators. They will interpose; the confusion will increase; and a dissolution of the Union will ensue.”

The proposition was lost.

In support of the universality of this idea of community independence, which I have suggested, the argument may be adduced which arose upon the proposition least likely to have exhibited it, that to give power to restrain the further importation of African slaves. On that occasion it appears that Northern and Southern men, arguing and presenting different views, resulting from their different standpoints, yet, all concurred in this, that there should be no power to restrain a state from im-

porting what she pleased. As the Senator from Vermont (Mr. Collamer) looks somewhat surprised at my statement, I will refer to the authority. Mr. Rutledge said:

"Religion and humanity had nothing to do with this question. Interest alone is the governing principle with nations. The true question at present is, whether the Southern states shall or shall not be parties to the Union. If the Northern states consult their interest, they will not oppose the increase of slaves, which will increase the commodities of which they will become the carriers."—*Elliott's Debates*, vol. 5, p. 457.

"Mr. P-ckney. South Carolina can never receive the plan if it prohibits the slave trade. In every proposed extension of the powers of Congress, that state has expressly and watchfully excepted that of meddling with the importation of negroes. If the states be all left at liberty on this subject, South Carolina may perhaps, by degrees, do of herself what is wished, as Virginia and Maryland already have done."—*Ibid*, p. 457.

"Mr. Sherman was for leaving the clause as it stands. He disapproved of the slave trade; yet, as the states were now possessed of the right to import slaves, as the public good did not require it to be taken from them, and as it was expedient to have as few objections as possible to the proposed scheme of government, he thought it best to leave the matter as we find it."—Page 457.

"Mr. Baldwin had conceived national objects alone to be before the convention; not such as, like the present, were of a local nature. Georgia was decided on this point. That state has always hitherto supposed a general government to be the pursuit of the central states, who wished to have a vortex for everything; that her distance would preclude her from equal advantage; and that she could not prudently purchase it by yielding national powers. From this, it might be

understood in what light she would view an attempt to abridge one of her favorite prerogatives.

"If left to herself, she may probably put a stop to the evil. As one ground for this conjecture, he took notice of the sect of____, which, he said, was a respectable class of people who carried their ethics beyond the mere *equality of men*, extending their humanity to the claims of the whole animal creation."

—Page 459.

"Mr. Gerry thought we had nothing to do with the conduct of the states as to slaves, but ought to be careful not to give any sanction to it."—Page 459.

"Mr. King thought the subject should be considered in a political light only. If two states will not agree to the Constitution, as stated on one side, he could affirm with equal belief, on the other, that great and equal opposition would be experienced from the other states. He remarked on the exemption of slaves from duty, whilst every other import was subjected to it, as an inequality that could not fail to strike the commercial sagacity of the Northern and Middle states."—Page 460.

Here, as will be observed, everywhere was recognized and admitted the doctrine of community independence and state equality—no interference with the institutions of a state; no interference even prospectively, save and except with their consent; and thus it followed that at one time it was proposed to except, from the power to prohibit the further introduction of Africans, those states which insisted upon retaining that power; and finally it was

agreed that a date should be fixed beyond which probably none of them desired to retain it. These were states acting in their sovereign capacity; they possessed power to grant or withhold as they pleased; and that was the view which they took of it. I ask, then, how are we, their descendants, those holding under delegated authority, to assume a power over domestic institutions which they refused to admit, either as a purpose or a function, because opposed to principles eternal and lying at the foundation of the Constitution?

If, then, protection generally be the duty (and who will deny it?) with which this government is charged, for which the states pay taxes, because of which they surrendered their armies and navies, no exemption, no remission, no exception being made, I ask, in the name of reason and constitutional right—I ask to be pointed to authority by which a discrimination is made between slave property and any other. Yet this is the question now fraught with greatest danger to our country. This has

raised the hurricane which threatens to sweep our political fabric before it, to blot out the constellation of the Union from the political firmament of mankind. Does it not become us, then, calmly to consider it, justly to weigh it; to hold it in balances from which the dust has been blown, in order that we may see where truth, right, and the obligations of the Constitution require us to go?

* * * * *

Among the great purposes declared in the preamble of the Constitution is one to provide for the general welfare. Provision, due and ample, for the general welfare implies general, cordial fraternity. This Union was not expected to be held together by coercion of the states, the power of force as a mean was denied. They sought, however, to bind it perpetually together with that which was stronger than triple bars of brass and steel—the ceaseless current of kind offices, renewing and renewed in an eternal flow, and gathering volume

and velocity as it rolled. Its functions were intended for the security of each, not for the injury of any. It declared its purpose to be the benefit of all. Concessions which were made between the different states in the convention prove the motive. Each gave to the other what was necessary to it; what each could afford to spare.

Young as a nation, our triumphs under this system have had no parallel in human history. We have tamed a wilderness; we have spanned a continent. We have built up a granary that secures the commercial world against the fear of famine. Higher than all this, we have achieved a moral triumph. We have received, by hundreds of thousands, a constant tide of immigrants—energetic, not well educated, fleeing, some from want, some from oppression, some from the penalties of violated law—the men who disturbed the quiet of Europe, we have received into our society; and by the gentle suasion of a government which exhibits no force, by removing want and

giving employment, they have subsided into peaceful citizens, and have increased the wealth and power of our country.

If, then, this temple so blessed, to the roof of which men look for a protection, coextensive with the continent, a shelter and a model to infant republics that need it—if this temple is tottering on its base, what, I ask, can be a higher or nobler duty for the Senate to perform than to rush to its pillars and uphold them, or be crushed in the attempt. We have tampered with a question which has grown in magnitude by each year's delay. It requires to be fairly met; the truth to be plainly told. The practical sound sense of the people, whenever the federal government from its high places of authority shall proclaim the truth in unequivocal language, will, in my firm belief, receive and approve it. But so long as we deal like the Delphic oracle in words of double meaning, so long as we attempt to escape from responsibility, and exhibit our fear to declare the truth by the fact that we do not act upon it, we must expect

speculative theory to occupy the mind of the public, and error to increase as time rolls on. But if the sad fate should be ours, for this unwarranted agitation, most minute, unworthy cause of dissension, to see our government destroyed, the historian, who shall attempt philosophically to examine the question will, after he has put on his microscopic glasses and discovered it, be compelled to cry out, "Veritably so the unseen insect in the course of time destroys the mighty oak." I hope there is yet time by the full, explicit declaration of truth, to disabuse the public mind, to arouse the popular heart, to expose the danger from lurking treason and ill-concealed hostility; to rally a virtuous people to their country's rescue, who circling closer and deeper, round the ark of their Father's covenant, will bear it to a place of security, there to remain, a sign of fraternity, justice and equality to our remotest posterity.

JEFFERSON DAVIS

INAUGURAL ADDRESS DELIVERED AT MONT-
GOMERY, ALABAMA, FEBRUARY 18, 1861

GENTLEMEN OF THE CONGRESS OF THE CON-
FEDERATE STATES OF AMERICA, FRIENDS,
AND FELLOW-CITIZENS:

Our present condition, achieved in a manner unprecedented in the history of nations, illustrates the American idea that governments rest upon the consent of the governed, and that it is the right of the people to alter and abolish governments whenever they become destructive to the ends for which they were established. The declared compact of the Union from which we have withdrawn was to establish justice, ensure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity; and when in the judgment of the sovereign states now

composing this Confederacy it has been perverted from the purposes for which it was ordained, and ceased to answer the ends for which it was established, a peaceful appeal to the ballot-box declared that, so far as they were concerned, the government created by that compact should cease to exist. In this they merely asserted the right which the Declaration of Independence of 1776 defined to be inalienable. Of the time and occasion of this exercise they as sovereigns were the final judges, each for himself. The impartial, enlightened verdict of mankind will vindicate the rectitude of our conduct; and He who knows the hearts of men will judge of the sincerity with which we labored to preserve the government of our fathers in its spirit.

The right solemnly proclaimed at the birth of the states, and which has been affirmed and reaffirmed in the bills of rights of the states subsequently admitted into the Union of 1789, undeniably recognizes in the people the power to resume the authority delegated for the purposes of

government. Thus the sovereign states here represented proceeded to form this Confederacy; and it is by the abuse of language that their act has been denominated revolution. They formed a new alliance, but within each state its government has remained. The rights of person and property have not been disturbed. The agent through whom they communicated with foreign nations is changed, but this does not necessarily interrupt their international relations. Sustained by the consciousness that the transition from the former Union to the present Confederacy has not proceeded from a disregard on our part of our just obligations or any failure to perform every constitutional duty, moved by no interest or passion to invade the rights of others, anxious to cultivate peace and commerce with all nations, if we may not hope to avoid war, we may at least expect that posterity will acquit us of having needlessly engaged in it. Doubly justified by the absence of wrong on our part, and by wanton aggression on the part of others,

there can be no use to doubt the courage and patriotism of the people of the Confederate states will be found equal to any measure of defence which soon their security may require.

An agricultural people, whose chief interest is the export of a commodity required in every manufacturing country, our true policy is peace and the freest trade which our necessities will permit. It is alike our interest and that of all those to whom we would sell and from whom we would buy, that there should be the fewest practicable restrictions upon the interchange of commodities. There can be but little rivalry between ours and any manufacturing or navigating community, such as the northeastern states of the American Union. It must follow, therefore, that mutual interest would invite good-will and kind offices. If, however, passion or lust of dominion should cloud the judgment or inflame the ambition of those states, we must prepare to meet the emergency, and maintain by the final arbitrament of the

sword the position which we have assumed among the nations of the earth.

We have entered upon a career of independence, and it must be inflexibly pursued through many years of controversy with our late associates of the Northern states. We have vainly endeavored to secure tranquillity and obtain respect for the rights to which we were entitled. As a necessity, not a choice, we have resorted to the remedy of separation, and henceforth our energies must be directed to the conduct of our own affairs, and the perpetuity of the Confederacy which we have formed. If a just perception of mutual interest shall permit us peaceably to pursue our separate political career, my most earnest desire will have been fulfilled. But if this be denied us, and the integrity of our territory and jurisdiction be assailed, it will but remain for us with firm resolve to appeal to arms and invoke the blessing of Providence on a just cause. . . .

Actuated solely by a desire to preserve our own rights, and to promote our own

welfare, the separation of the Confederate states has been marked by no aggression upon others, and followed by no domestic convulsion. Our industrial pursuits have received no check, the cultivation of our fields progresses as heretofore, and even should we be involved in war, there would be no considerable diminution in the production of the staples which have constituted our exports, in which the commercial world has an interest scarcely less than our own. This common interest of producer and consumer can only be intercepted by an exterior force which should obstruct its transmission to foreign markets, a course of conduct which would be detrimental to manufacturing and commercial interests abroad.

Should reason guide the action of the government from which we have separated, a policy so detrimental to the civilized world, the Northern states included, could not be dictated by even a stronger desire to inflict injury upon us; but if it be otherwise, a terrible responsibility will rest upon

it, and the suffering of millions will bear testimony to the folly and wickedness of our aggressors. In the meantime there will remain to us, besides the ordinary remedies before suggested, the well-known resources for retaliation upon the commerce of an enemy. . . . We have changed the constituent parts but not the system of our government. The Constitution formed by our fathers is that of these Confederate states. In their exposition of it, and in the judicial construction it has received, we have a light which reveals its true meaning. Thus instructed as to the just interpretation of that instrument, and ever remembering that all offices are but trusts held for the people, and that delegated powers are to be strictly construed, I will hope by due diligence in the performance of my duties, though I may disappoint your expectation, yet to retain, when retiring, something of the good-will and confidence which will welcome my entrance into office.

It is joyous in the midst of perilous times

to look around upon a people united in heart, when one purpose of high resolve animates and actuates the whole, where the sacrifices to be made are not weighed in the balance, against honor, right, liberty, and equality. Obstacles may retard, but they cannot long prevent, the progress of a movement sanctioned by its justice and sustained by a virtuous people. Reverently let us invoke the God of our fathers to guide and protect us in our efforts to perpetuate the principles which by His blessing they were able to vindicate, establish, and transmit to their posterity; and with a continuance of His favor, ever gratefully acknowledged, we may hopefully look forward to success, to peace, to prosperity.

CHRONOLOGY

ROBERT E. LEE was born in Westmoreland County, Virginia, January 19, 1807, the son of Major-General Henry Lee.

In 1811 his father removed to Alexandria in Fairfax County, and here young Lee received his early education. In 1825 entered West Point, graduating in 1829.

1829-34, served in the engineering corps with the rank of 2d Lieutenant.

In 1831 married Mary Randolph Custis, a granddaughter of Martha Washington.

In 1834 appointed assistant to the Chief of the Engineering Department in Washington. In 1837 superintended improvements at St. Louis. In 1838 was raised to the rank of Captain. In 1842 took charge of the defences in New York harbor.

1846 was sent to the Southwest, where he rendered distinguished service in the Mexican War, rising to the rank of Colonel. Immediately following this, was engaged in engineering work in the City of Mexico, and later was placed in charge of the construction of defences at Baltimore.

1852-55, Superintendent of the United States Military Academy at West Point.

1855, Lieutenant-Colonel of Cavalry in Texas. 1859, commanded the forces opposed to John Brown.

1861, resigned his commission in the United States Army, and was shortly thereafter appointed Major-General of Virginia forces. June 3d, 1862, was made commander of the army of Northern Virginia, and later Commander-in-Chief of all the Confederate forces.

Surrendered to General Grant on April 21, 1865.

In October of the same year, he was installed as President of Washington College at Lexington, Virginia, in which position he remained until his death, October 12, 1870.

ROBERT E. LEE *

ADDRESS DELIVERED TO THE VIRGINIA CONVENTION ON ACCEPTING THE COMMAND OF THE MILITARY FORCES OF VIRGINIA, APRIL 23, 1861

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN OF THE CONVENTION:

Deeply impressed with the solemnity of the occasion on which I appear before you, and profoundly grateful for the honor conferred upon me, I accept the position your partiality has assigned me, though I would greatly have preferred your choice should have fallen on one more capable.

Trusting to Almighty God, an approving conscience, and the aid of my fellow-citizens, I will devote myself to the defence and service of my native state, in whose behalf alone would I have ever drawn my sword.

*General Lee rarely spoke in public, hence but a few words can be included in this collection. For a further view of his charmingly delicate expressions and his exquisite style of writings, we refer you to *Recollections and Letters of General Lee*, by his son, Captain Robert E. Lee. (Doubleday, Page & Co.)

EXPRESSION TO THE ARMY AFTER THE
SURRENDER AT APPOMATTOX

Men, we have fought through the war together; I have done my best for you; my heart is too full to say more.

* * *

THE FAREWELL ADDRESS TO THE ARMY

HEADQUARTERS,
ARMY OF NORTHERN VIRGINIA,
April 10, 1865.

After four years of arduous service, marked by unsurpassed courage and fortitude, the army of Northern Virginia has been compelled to yield to overwhelming numbers and resources. I need not tell the survivors of so many hard-fought battles, who have remained steadfast to the last, that I have consented to this result from no distrust of them; but, feeling that valor and devotion could accomplish nothing that could compensate for the loss that would have attended the continuation of the contest, I have determined to avoid the useless sacrifice of those whose past services

have endeared them to their countrymen. By the terms of the agreement, officers and men can return to their homes and remain there until exchanged. You will take with you the satisfaction that proceeds from the consciousness of duty faithfully performed; and I earnestly pray that a merciful God will extend to you His blessing and protection. With an increasing admiration of your constancy and devotion to your country, and a grateful remembrance of your kind and generous consideration of myself, I bid you an affectionate farewell.

R. E. LEE, *General.*

* * *

LETTER WRITTEN TO THE TRUSTEES OF
WASHINGTON COLLEGE

POWHATAN COUNTY,

August 24, 1865.

GENTLEMEN:

I have delayed for some days replying to your letter of the 5th inst., informing me of my election by the board of trustees to the presidency of Washington College, from a desire to give the subject due considera-

tion. Fully impressed with the responsibilities of the office, I have feared that I should be unable to discharge its duties to the satisfaction of the trustees or to the benefit of the country. The proper education of youth requires not only great ability, but I fear more strength than I now possess, for I do not feel able to undergo the labor of conducting classes in regular courses of instruction. I could not, therefore, undertake more than the general administration and supervision of the institution. There is another subject which has caused me serious reflection, and is, I think, worthy of the consideration of the board. Being excluded from the terms of amnesty in the proclamation of the President of the United States, of the 29th of May last, and an object of censure to a portion of the country, I have thought it probable that my occupation of the position of president might draw upon the college a feeling of hostility; and I should, therefore, cause injury to an institution which it would be my highest desire to advance. I think it the duty of

every citizen, in the present condition of the country, to do all in his power to aid in the restoration of peace and harmony and in no way to oppose the policy of the state or general government directed to that object. It is particularly incumbent on those charged with the instruction of the young to set them an example of submission to authority, and I could not consent to be the cause of animadversion upon the college. Should you, however, take a different view, and think that my services in the position tendered to me by the board will be advantageous to the college and country, I will yield to your judgment and accept it; otherwise, I must most respectfully decline the office. Begging you to express to the trustees of the college my heartfelt gratitude for the honor conferred upon me, and requesting you to accept my cordial thanks for the kind manner in which you have communicated their decision, I am, gentlemen, with great respect, your most obedient servant,

R. E. LEE.

CHRONOLOGY

SAM HOUSTON was born in Rockbridge County, Virginia, near Lexington, March 2, 1793. Was of Scotch-Irish parentage.

In 1806 his father died, and the family emigrated to Tennessee. He entered an academy, but soon left and went to live with the Cherokee Indians, where he remained three years. Upon his return he taught school.

In 1813 enlisted as a private in the United States Army.

1817, appointed agent to aid in negotiations with the Cherokees. 1818, began the study of law at Nashville. 1819, was made Adjutant-General of the State, and Major of the State Militia.

1823-27, member of Congress from Tennessee.
1827-29, Governor of Tennessee.

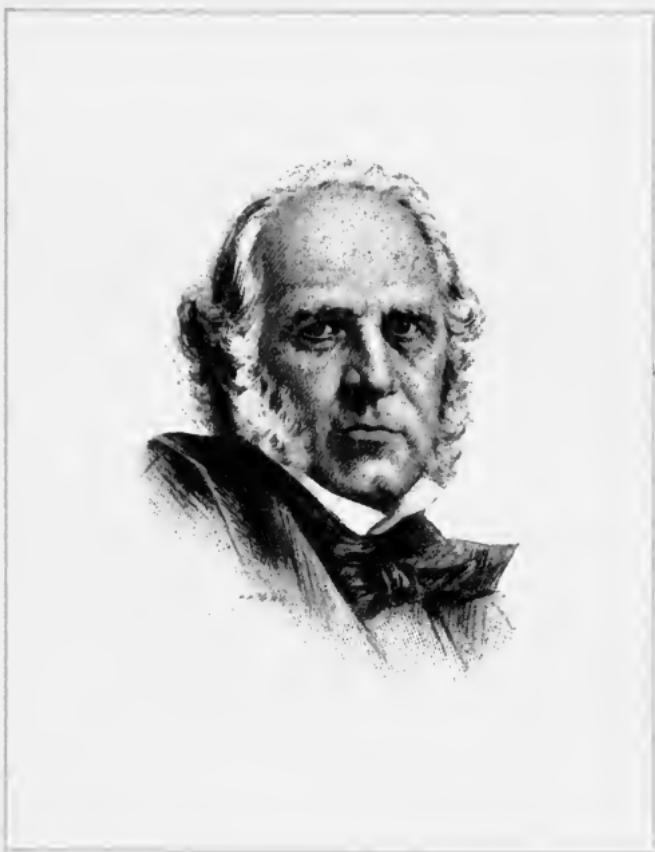
1829, removed to Arkansas, whither the Cherokee Indians had emigrated. Championed the cause of the Indians before Congress.

1832, visited Texas, and in the following year was elected delegate to the Texas Constitutional Convention. The Constitution framed by the Convention was rejected by Mexico, and war ensued.

In 1836 was Commander-in-Chief of the Texan army. 1836-38 and 1841-44, President of Texas.

1845-59, United States Senator from Texas.
1856-61, Governor of Texas.

Died at Huntersville, Texas, July 25, 1863.



SAM HOUSTON

SAM HOUSTON

SPEECH ON THE NEBRASKA AND KANSAS BILL, DELIVERED IN THE UNITED STATES SENATE MARCH 3, 1854

MR. PRESIDENT:

This unusual night sitting is without precedent in the history of any previous Congress at this stage of the session. The extraordinary circumstances in which we find ourselves placed would seem to indicate a crisis in the affairs of the country of no ordinary importance; a crisis that portends either good or evil to our institutions.

The extraordinary character of the bill before the Senate, as well as the manner in which it is presented to the body, demands the gravest deliberation. This, sir, is the anniversary of a protracted session, in which the organization of the territory of Nebraska was elaborately discussed, on the last day of the last session. In that

discussion, which, like this, had kept us in our seats to the morning dawn, the prominent points of opposition were such as related to the Indian tribes. Such a bill at the present session would have met with no insuperable objections; but what do we now find? A bill entirely variant, and a bill which involves new and important principles. It has come an unexpected measure without a harbinger, for no agitation was heard of, and the breeze bore no whisper to our ears that the Missouri Compromise was to be repealed.

Its presentation has been as sudden as the measure itself is bold, and the excitement of the public mind is of corresponding intensity. We are told, to be sure, that there is no necessity for agitation, and that soon the public mind will be tranquil, and the country will be in a state of repose and quiet—as it was at the introduction of this measure. The honorable Senator who has just taken his seat [Mr. Douglas], the chairman of the Committee on Territories, in his lecture to the South, exhorted them to

stand by the principle of this bill, with the assurance that it will be good for them, and that the country will maintain it. Sir, under proper circumstances I should recognize the exhortation; but is the principle such a one as should be adopted by this body, or can it be sanctioned by the nation? Whether it is expedient and useful at this time I shall take the liberty to examine.

Mr. President, I cannot believe that the agitation created by this measure will be confined to the Senate Chamber. I cannot believe, from what we have witnessed here tonight, that this will be the exclusive arena for the exercise of human passions and the expression of public opinions. *If the republic be not shaken, I will thank Heaven for its kindness in maintaining its stability.* To what extent is it proposed to establish the principle of non-intervention? Are you extending it to a domain inhabited by citizens, or to a barren prairie, a wilderness, or even to forty thousand wild Indians? Is this the diffusive excellence of non-intervention? I, sir, am for non-intervention

upon the principles which have heretofore been recognized by this government. Hitherto, territories have been organized—within my recollection Alabama, Missouri, Florida, Arkansas, Mississippi, Wisconsin, and Iowa, have been organized—and the principle now proposed was not deemed essential to their well-being; and is there any infirmity in their constitutions or their growth? Sir, has any malign influence attached to them from their simple, economical organization? It may be that the word “economy” is deemed obsolete in the present condition of our treasury. Were it otherwise, I am simple enough to confess that the organization of two territories—when there are not people to constitute an ordinary county in one of the populous states of this Union, and when those who do inhabit the territories are United States soldiers, who are not entitled to vote at elections in the states or territories—is not a procedure that can be characterized as economical. If the principle of non-intervention be correct, it is correct where the territories have been

governed by laws of Congress until they are prepared to make application for admission as states. Then they have a right to elect their delegates to convention, for the purpose of framing state constitutions, which, if accepted by Congress, invest them with all the sovereign rights of states; and then, for the first time, they have the complete power of self-government. A territory under the tutelage of Congress can form no organic laws, either admitting or excluding slavery. A people without organic laws might alternately enact and repeal all laws, and re-enact them without limitation, as they would have no local constitution. Congress has a supervision over the action of all territories until they become sovereign states. In the formation of state governments, I can say that they have the exclusive right to determine whether they will come into the Union with or without slavery. There, sir, is the application of the principle of non-intervention, and one that I have always maintained.

But gentlemen speak of sovereignty—

to nothing. It holds a promise to the ear, but breaks it to the hope. If it is ever to be repealed, I want no empty promises. They have not been asked for by the South. They are not desired; and, so far as I am concerned, they will never be accepted. Neither my colleague nor myself have ever been consulted in relation to this subject. On the contrary, we have been sedulously excluded from all consultation. I have never had an intimation that a conference was to take place, a caucus to be held, or stringent measures applied in the passage of this bill. Nothing of the kind. I have been in the dark in relation to it. I feel that Texas has as important an interest as any other section of this Union in the repeal of the compromise, and would be as vitally affected by it. She must be eventually, if calamities are to fall upon the South, the most unfortunate of all that portion of the Union.

I will give you my reasons why I think Texas would be in the most deplorable condition of all the Southern states. It is now

the terminus of the slave population. It is a country of vast extent and fertile soil, favorable to the culture and growth of those productions which are most important to the necessities of the world—cotton, sugar, and tobacco. An immense slave population must eventually go there. The demand for labor is so great, everything is so inviting to the enterprising and industrious, that labor will be transferred there, because it will be of a most profitable character, and the disproportion of slaves to the white population must be immense. Then, sir, it becomes the gulf of slavery, and there its terrible eddies will whirl, if convulsions take place. I have a right, therefore, to claim some consideration in the Senate for the effect which the repeal of this compromise will have upon our state. I have a right to demand it, and demand it for other reasons than those which I formerly gave here, that were personal to myself.

It is alleged that the refusal on the part of the North to continue the Missouri Com-

promise line over the acquisitions of 1847 and 1848 was a repudiation of the Compromise. That may be thought technically true. I grant that a proposition was made, or a compromise entered into by the North and South, to extend the Missouri Compromise as far as the jurisdiction of the United States extended. That was to the Pacific Ocean. When it was, by contract, carried on through Texas on its annexation, then, if I understand it, it was a new line—a continuation of the old line by consent. It was established there by a compact with Texas; for by the original Missouri Compromise it could only extend as far as the jurisdiction of the United States went. Then the proposition to continue it to the Pacific was a new and substantive proposition. Though it might refer to the original principle of the old, it had no more connection with it than the Atlantic has with the Pacific.

I understand, if individuals make a contract, whether they enter into it in writing or not, if it is to be executed by

any given time, and subsequently it is proposed by one of the parties to make another contract, which involves not the first, but is made because it is convenient to extend the first further, the refusal of one of the parties to agree to the second does not invalidate the former contract. This is a kind of argument I have never heard resorted to, except in favor of the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. I have a great deal of veneration for that compromise. I recollect the time when I was tried in the Senate Chamber upon its principles. There are Senators here who well remember that I was denounced, more in manner than in words, when I said I planted myself upon the Missouri Compromise line, and that astride of it I would stand, if needs be, and that there I would do battle, and there would I perish in the defence of the rights of the South. That was emphatic language, and I felt all that I uttered. Sir, I have some reverence for it; and if I should feel such reverence, it is not unreasonable that I should have determinations, too, which

will not be changed by all the technical and abstract notions which have been adduced and relied upon to enlighten the public mind, to manufacture public sentiment here, and to give direction to it abroad. Sir, I have no idea that the public sentiment is to be subverted, and I assure you that the North, or West, or South, cannot be willing that this should be done. No one can deprecate more than I do the fearful agitations which, I apprehend, will follow this; but after the manifestations which we have had here, nothing that I can utter will affect those who are present, or certify to them what must be the inevitable consequence, out of this hall, when agitation is rife abroad. Do these gentlemen say that I have not made any argument on this point? It is, sir, because I was not sufficiently skilled to meet the refined arguments that were adduced in favor of the repeal. What necessity has grown up for the adoption of this measure since 1850? None had resulted at this time last year. None has been heard of.

Three years have passed in tranquility and peace. Yet the gentleman who urges the measure thinks that he would have been derelict to his duty had he not brought things to their present condition, and presented the matter in the shape in which it now stands. If it was necessary at all, it was necessary last year. No new developments have been made. The great principle of non-intervention existed then. There is no new demand for it now. Is not that a reason why this bill ought not to pass? Was there any new indication given of its necessity up to the time that the bill was introduced here? None throughout the whole land. How, and where, and why, and when, and with whom this measure originated, Heaven only knows, for I have no cognizance of the facts; but I well know that persons deeply involved in it, and exercising senatorial privileges here, never received information that such a measure would be brought forward, or would be urged with that pertinacity with which it is now done. Little did we think that it

was to be urged upon us as a great healing measure. The honorable Senator from Virginia [Mr. Mason] said last night that this is to be regarded as a great healing measure for the purpose of preventing agitation. Sir, I heard of no agitation until it arose here, nor would there have been any this day in the United States, if the bill in the form in which it was presented last year, had been brought forward and adopted without any provision either for non-intervention or the repeal of the Missouri Compromise.

So far back as 1848, I find that President Polk recognized the Missouri Compromise as of binding force upon this country. He considered it not only binding upon the North in relation to the South, but, as the Chief Magistrate of this Union, he regarded it as binding upon the South, because it accorded certain privileges to the South; for he says, when speaking in relation to his approval of the Oregon bill, that he approved it because it lay north of $36^{\circ} 30'$; but had it lain south of $36^{\circ} 30'$, he would not say

what action he would have taken upon it; clearly intimating that he would have vetoed the bill, regarding as he did the Missouri Compromise as obligatory on the two sections of the Union. How has it been repudiated since that time? Was it repudiated and superseded, or rendered null and void, by the compromise of 1850? No such thing. Do you think that the astute statesmen, the men who managed and controlled the business of that compromise, as much as any other men versed and skilled in legal lore and in general learning, men of acumen and keen perceptions, would have permitted that matter to go unexplained, if it ever had been contemplated to repeal the Missouri Compromise? Mr. Clay and Mr. Webster would never have done it. Yet no information was given that any such design was entertained by any member of this body. I am sure that, for one, I did not entertain it. Other gentlemen, more astute than myself, might have done so, but I am confident that it was not the general understanding that non-inter-

vention was to be applied to these territories because they lay north of $36^{\circ} 30'$.

I again ask, what benefit is to result to the South from this measure, if adopted? I have shown, I hope, that if you repeal this Missouri Compromise, Texas has no guarantee left for the multiplication of her states, if she chooses to make them. What are its advantages? Will it secure these territories to the South? No, sir, not at all. But, the gentleman tells us, it is *the principle* that we want. I can perceive but one principle involved in the measure; and that principle lies at the root of agitation; and from that all the tumult and excitements of the country must arise. That is the only principle I can perceive. We are told by Southern, as well as Northern gentlemen, those who are for it, and those who are against it, that slavery will never be extended to that territory, that it will never go there; but it is the principle of non-intervention that it is desired to establish. Sir, we have done well under the *intervention* of the Missouri Compromise, if

the gentlemen so call it, in other territories; and, I adjure you, when there is so much involved, not to press this matter too far. What is to be the consequence? If it is not in embryo, my suggestion will not make it so. It has been suggested elsewhere, and I may repeat it here, what is to be the effect of this measure if adopted, and you repeal the Missouri Compromise? The South is to gain nothing by it; for honorable gentlemen from the South, and especially the junior Senator from Virginia [Mr. Hunter], characterize it as a miserable, trifling little measure. Then, sir, is the South to be propitiated or benefited by the conferring upon her of a miserable, trifling little measure? Will that compensate the South for her uneasiness? Will it allay the agitation of the North? Will it preserve the union of these states? Will it sustain the Democratic or the Whig party in their organizations? No, sir, they all go to the wall. What is to be the effect on this government? It is to be most ruinous and fatal to the future harmony and well-being

of the country. I think that the measure itself would be useless. If you establish intervention, you make nothing by that. But what will be the consequence in the minds of the people? They have a veneration for that compromise. They have a respect and reverence for it, from its antiquity and the associations connected with it, and repeated references to it that seem to suggest that it marked the boundaries of free and slave territory. They have no respect for it as a compact—I do not care what you call it—but as a line, defining certain rights and privileges to the different sections of the Union. The abstractions which you indulge in here can never satisfy the people that there is not something in it. Abrogate it or disannul it, and you exasperate the public mind. It is not necessary that reason should accompany excitement. Feeling is enough to agitate without much reason, and that will be the great prompter on this occasion. My word for it, we shall realize scenes of agitation which are rumbling in the distance now.

I have heard it said, and may as well remark it now, that the Abolitionists and Free-Soilers, to a certain extent, will affiliate with the weaker political party at the North, the Whigs, and will make a fair contest with the Democrats. If they throw this question in the scale, and the Democrats do not, they will preponderate. Then how are the Democrats to sustain themselves under this pressure? Suppose the repeal of the Fugitive Slave Law, or the repeal of the Compromise of 1850 is proposed, and the Democrats oppose it, they will meet with the objection that it is not more sacred than the Missouri Compromise, and the repeal will be urged before the people; and we shall see our House of Representatives with a preponderating power of abolitionism, the principles of which will triumph. Every Representative who votes for this measure will be prostrated; he cannot come back, or, if he comes back, he will be pledged to the repeal of a measure fraught with so many blessings of peace to the country. With all the fancied benefits of

non-intervention, they cannot overbalance the disastrous consequences that must ensue to our institutions.

This is an eminently perilous measure, and do you expect me to remain here silent, or to shrink from the discharge of my duty in admonishing the South of what I conceive the results will be? I will do it in spite of all the intimidations, or threats, or dis-countenances that may be thrown upon me. Sir, the charge that I am going with the Abolitionists or Free-Soilers affects not me. The discharge of conscious duty prompts me often to confront the united array of the very section of the country in which I reside, in which my associations are, in which my personal interests have always been, and in which my affections rest. When every look to the setting sun carries me to the bosom of a family dependent upon me, think you I could be alien to them? Never—never. Well, sir, if I am now accidentally associated with Abolitionists, in voting against this measure of repeal—if I vote with them, and with individual

Senators with whom my relations have always been courteous and polite personally, they well know that I feel no sympathy with their notions—that I think them fanatical—I do not esteem it a greater misfortune attendant upon me than I have witnessed before, in this chamber, with other Senators from the South. In the passage of the Compromise bill of 1850, I saw associations of extremes quite as extraordinary as on this occasion. I almost thought that the extremes of the Abolitionists and Secession parties had become Siamese twins; they were so intimate that I could not help but remark it.

MR. SEWARD. Who?

MR. HOUSTON. I need not mention who; I merely throw out the suggestion. I do not inquire into the motive which induced the introduction of this bill into the Senate. I cast no reflections on gentlemen, either for its introduction or for its support; but I deprecate the consequences which will flow from it. I have conversed with several Senators, and I have never heard the first

who would not admit that it was an unfortunate and ill-advised measure. The venerable and distinguished Senator from Michigan [Mr. Cass] the other day, in his speech, declared, in substance, that he thought it was an unfortunate circumstance that it had ever been introduced into the Senate, although it meets with his approbation when it is here. And now, when he who has been in the councils and transactions of this country for fifty years, who has witnessed all the vicissitudes and mutations through which the country has passed, who has been an actor in the most important scenes of the Union—when he does not recognize it as a healing and welcome measure, I ask Senators if I err in resisting it? They say it is here. It *is* here, and, if I had the power, I would kick it out. What, if a measure unwholesome or unwise is brought into the Senate, and it comes from the party of which I am a member, and its introduction is an error, is it not my duty to correct that error as far as I possibly can? Sir, I stand here for that

general purpose. My constituents send me here for that purpose.

But I will not admit for a moment that this meets the sanction of the Executive. All his antecedents are in the face of it. Supporting him as I did, I must believe him consistent and truthful. He is upon the record as an opponent to agitation of any kind, whether in the halls of Congress or anywhere else. He is pledged to keep down and resist agitation, as far as in his power, and that the institutions of the country shall sustain no "shock" during his Administration. If this bill passes, will there be *no shock?* Depend upon it, Mr. President, there will be a tremendous shock; it will convulse the country from Maine to the Rio Grande. The South has not asked for it. I, as the most Southern Senator upon this floor, do not desire it. If it is a boon that is offered to propitiate the South, I, as a Southern man, repudiate it. I reject it. I will have none of it.

Mr. President, not in any spirit of unkindness—not entertaining unfriendly or un-

gentle feelings—I will allude here, by way of illustration, to one of the most beautiful and captivating incidents in the Holy Bible—one that shows a forgetting, and kind, and amiable, and forgiving temper, which, even under a sense of deep injuries, was willing to embrace a brother and forget the past. I need not relate to this intelligent assembly the history of Esau and Jacob. The birthright and the mess of pottage are familiar to all. The two brothers separated in anger, after Jacob had acquired the blessing which should have been given to Esau, and Jacob fled to Laban, his mother's brother, in a distant country, where he greatly prospered. Afterward, when he separated his flocks from those of his father-in-law, it became necessary for him to journey through the land of his brother Esau, who was then a man of influence, and power, and wealth. As Jacob approached, he thought it was necessary to propitiate his brother for the wrong which he had done him, and he supposed he could not do that without some atonement, or some gift.

He dispatched a portion of his family, some of his handmaidens, and children, and servants, with a drove of cattle, which he intended as an offering to his brother; and the sacred narrative says that when Esau heard that his brother was journeying toward his land "Esau ran to meet him; and they embraced and kissed each other; and they wept." Now I do not see why the North and South, if they have been separated, might not embrace each other without any feeling of anger. But, after some colloquy had taken place between the brothers, Esau said: "*What meanest thou by this drove which I met?*" And Jacob said, "These are to find grace in the sight of my Lord." And Esau then made a reply worthy of a generous spirit. He said: "*I have enough, my brother; keep that thou hast unto thyself.*"

So, if this is an offering to propitiate the South the South may say, "*I have enough, my brother; keep that thou hast unto thyself.*" If this is the only offering tendered to the South, we will not ask it;

we do not want it; the people will be angry if you give it, and I never want to make trouble with my friends at home. I would rather you would keep it. If you are indebted in anything to the South, all I have to say is, that you might find some other occasion when it would be more agreeable to cancel the obligation. The South, as a community, only desire their rights under the Constitution and existing compromises.

But, sir, the people are not going into abstractions to understand this subject. Nor will there be a lawyer at every point, every cross-road, every public meeting, every muster, or every court-house, to give elaborate dissertations upon the unconstitutionality of the Missouri Compromise. I care nothing about its constitutionality or unconstitutionality. Not one straw do I care about it, on account of the circumstances out of which it grew, and the benefits flowing from it. Mr. Jefferson said he could not find constitutional authority for the acquisition of Louisiana. If that was

the case, even if the compromise, based upon an unconstitutional act, to reconcile the different sections of the country, was without authority of the Constitution, it became a legitimate subject of legislation. I say legitimate, because it was an acquisition of territory which must be governed in some manner suited to the exigencies of the occasion. Hence the resort to the principle of compromise, and to legislation. Was the acquisition of Florida constitutional? I think not. Yet we retain it as one of our states. Was the acquisition of Texas constitutional? No, sir, it was not. It was a mere act of legislation on the part of this government—a compromise—precisely such as the compromise which this bill proposes to repeal. But Texas is in, and you cannot thrust us out; and that is the whole of it. But it is not constitutional. If it is not, and validity attaches only to *compacts*, in contradistinction to *compromises*, then this is a compact predicated upon the compromise of Missouri.

I do not know whether it is constitutional,

technically. It is sufficient for me to know that it has stood for more than thirty years, and received the approbation of our wisest and ablest statesmen, from the day of its adoption down to the present, and was never questioned until after the commencement of the present session of Congress. It is strange that an unconstitutional law should have remained so long in force amid all the agitation, and excitement, and bitterness between the North and the South; and that this is the first proposition ever made to repeal it. Have we to yield to it without any necessity, and without any excuse for it, when we see that discord will run riot in our land?

Sir, the occasion to which I have alluded was not the only one on which I said I was willing to stand on the Missouri Compromise line, in defence of the rights of the South. On another occasion, it will be recollected in this Chamber when speaking of the obligations the country was under to a distinguished statesman, then in private life, and whose party had postponed his claim,

or pretermitted it, or, in common parlance, laid him on the shelf, I said, that when the Missouri agitation was quieted, he was held throughout the land as a great pacifier; and if he had committed a mountain of sins, that single achievement of tranquilizing the great republic, giving permanency, peace, and growth to its institutions, would have overbalanced them all. I said that Henry Clay deserved a monument of bronze, of marble, or of gold, to be placed in the rotunda of the Capitol, for men in aftertimes of great excitement to contemplate, and look upon as a man who blessed his country. That was the sentiment I entertained, and it arose from veneration, not only for the man, but for the needed restoration of harmony to our native land. Were I to make such a declaration now, it would be thought that it was an endeavor to bring this bill into discredit. No, sir, nothing is necessary from me to discredit it; for it is its own condemnation under the circumstances in which it is presented here, at this time, in the midst of unity, peace,

and harmony, while all is at rest, with not a ripple on the vast ocean of our community. I have seen agitation and bitterness before.

I recollect when I ventured to make the first address in this Chamber on the subject of the agitation in 1850, with what dis-countenance it was received. So little was there a disposition to harmonize, that *when I suggested that six Senators, without regard to party or section, might be selected from the members of this body, who could compose an address and send it abroad so as to harmonize the country, and hush the fierce waves of political agitation that were then lashing the base of this Capitol, it met with no response.* Well, we subsequently obtained peace and harmony. Let us preserve it. And there is no mode by which we can so effectually accomplish that object, as by rejecting the proposed measure. I had fondly hoped, Mr. President, that having attained to my present period of life, I should pass the residue of my days, be they many or few, in peace and tranquility; that as I found the

country growing up rapidly, and have witnessed its immeasurable expansion and development, when I close my eyes on scenes around me, I would at least have the cherished consolation and hope that I left my children in a peaceful, happy, prosperous and united community. I had hoped this. Fondly had I cherished the desire and the expectation from 1850 until after the introduction of this bill. My hopes are less sanguine now. My anxieties increase, but my expectation lessens. Sir, if this repeal takes place, I will have seen the commencement of the agitation; but the youngest child now born, I am apprehensive, will not live to witness its termination. Southern gentlemen may stand up and defend this measure. They may accept it from the Northern gentlemen who generously bestow it; but if it were beneficial to the South, it would have been asked for. It was not asked for—nor will it be accepted by the people. It furnishes those in the North, who are enemies of the South, with efficient weapons to contend with.

The democracy in the North have stood firm to party ties. They have fought gallantly for our rights. If we pass this bill how can they maintain themselves? How can their representatives return to them and say: "We gave it?" Would not the reply be: "You gave it; then you are faithless servants, and we will put you down; you disgraced your party; you have given away a sacred thing, a pledge, a compromise thirty-four years old, which was venerated for its antiquity, and national benefits derived from it?" Depend upon it, they will be held to a strict account. They will have to answer for it. I call upon you to sustain those who stood by you of the South in opposition to those whose fanaticism, and prejudice, and misguided feeling would have wrested your rights from you. If you place them and their party in the predicament which I have mentioned, you will be doing them great injustice.

Mr. President, I have very little hope that any appeal which I can make for the

Indians will do any good. The honorable Senator from Indiana [Mr. Pettit] says, in substance, *that God Almighty has condemned them*, and has made them an *inferior race*; that there is *no use in doing anything for them*. With great deference to that Senator, for whom I have never cherished any but kind feelings, I must be permitted to dissent from his opinions. He says they are not civilized, and they are not homogeneous, and cannot be so, with the white race. They cannot be civilized! No! Sir, it is idle to tell me that. We have Indians on our western borders whose civilization is not inferior to our own. It is within the recollection of gentlemen here that, more than twenty years ago, President Ross, one of them, held a correspondence upon the rights of the Indians to the Cherokee country, which they possessed east of the Mississippi, and maintained himself in the controversy with great credit and ability; and the triumph of Mr. Adams, if it was one, was much less than he had obtained over the diplomatist of Spain [Mr. Don

Onis], in relation to the occupation of Florida by General Jackson. The Senator from Indiana says that, in ancient times, Moses received a command to go and drive the Canaanites and Moabites out of the land of Canaan, and that Joshua subsequently made the experiment of incorporating one tribe of the heathen with the Israelites, but it finally had to be killed off. Therefore, the Senator concludes, the Cherokees cannot be civilized. There may have been something statesmanlike in the policy, but I do not discover the morality of it. I will say, however, that there is no analogy between the two cases. The people of Judea who were killed, or exterminated, were idolaters, and the object was to keep the people of Israel free from the taint of idols and idolatry, under the command of Providence, and therefore the extermination in His dispensation became necessary. But the Cherokees never have been idolaters, neither have the Greeks, nor the Choctaws, nor the Chickasaws. They believe in one Great Spirit—in God—the white man's God.

They believe in His Son Jesus Christ, and His atonement, and propitiation for the sins of men. They believe in the sanctifying efficacy of the Holy Ghost. They bow at the Christian's altar, and they believe the Sacred Volume. Sir, you may drive these people away, and give their lands to the white man; but let it not be done upon the justification of the Scriptures. They have well-organized societies; they have villages and towns; they have their state-houses and their capitols; they have females and men who would grace the drawing rooms or saloons of Washington; they have a well-organized judiciary, a trial by jury, and the writ of *habeas corpus*. These are the people for whom I demand justice in the organization of these territories. They are men of education. They have more than one hundred native preachers in those tribes, as I have heard. They have their colleges, as I remarked in my former address to the Senate on this subject. They become associated in friendship with our young men in the various institutions in the United

States; and they are prepared to be incorporated upon equal terms with us. But even if they were wild Indians, untutored, when you deprive them of what would give them knowledge, and discourage them from making an effort to become civilized and social beings, how can you expect them to be otherwise than savage?

When you undertake to tame wild horses, do you turn them from you and drive them into the desert, or do you take care of them and treat them with humanity? These Indians are not inferior, intellectually, to white men. John Ridge was not inferior in point of genius to John Randolph. His father, in point of native intellect, was not inferior to any man. Look at their social condition, in the nations to which I have alluded. Look at the Chickasaws who remain in the state of Mississippi. Even among white men, with all their prejudices against the Indians, with their transcendent genius and accomplishments, they have been elected to the legislature. Whenever they have had an opportunity, they have

shown that they are not inferior to white men, either in sense or capability.

But the honorable Senator from Iowa [Mr. Dodge] characterizes the remarks which I made in reference to the Indians as arising from a feeling of "sickly sentimentality." Sir, it is a sickly sentimentality that was implanted in me when I was young, and it has grown up with me. The Indian has a sense of justice, truth, and honor, that should find a responsive chord in every heart. If the Indians on the frontier are barbarous, or if they are cannibals and eat each other, who are to blame for it? They are robbed of the means of sustenance; and with hundreds and thousands of them starving on the frontier, hunger may prompt to such acts to prevent their perishing. We shall never become cannibals in connection with the Indians, but we do worse than that. We rob them, first of their native dignity and character; we rob them next of what the government appropriates for them. If we do not do it in this hall, men are invested with power and authority, who, officiating

as agents or traders, rob them of everything which is designed for them. No less than *one hundred millions of dollars*, I learn from statistics, since the adoption of this government, have been appropriated by Congress for purposes of justice and benevolence toward the Indians; but I am satisfied that they have never realized *fifteen millions* beneficially. They are too remote from the seat of government for their real condition to be understood here; and if the government intends liberality or justice toward them, it is often diverted from the intended object and consumed by speculators.

I am a friend of the Indian, upon the principle that I am a friend to justice. We are not bound to make them promises; but if a promise be made to an Indian, it ought to be regarded as sacredly as if it were made to a white man. If we treat them as tribes, recognize them, send commissioners to form treaties, and exchange ratifications with them, and the treaties are negotiated, accepted, ratified, and exchanged—having met with the approval of the Senate—I

think they may be called compacts; and how are those compacts regarded? Just as we choose to construe them at the time, without any reference to the wishes of the Indians, or whether we do them kindness or justice in the operation, or not. We are often prompted to their ratification by persons interested; and we lend ourselves unintentionally to an unjust act of oppression upon the Indians by men who go and get their signatures to a treaty. The Indian's mark is made; the employes of the government certify or witness it; and the Indians do not understand it, for they do not know what is written. These are some of the circumstances connected with the Indians. Gentlemen have spoken here of voting millions to build ships, and placing the army and navy at the disposition of the President in the event that England act inconsistently with treaty stipulations. This is done because, if England violates a treaty with us, our national honor is injured. Now, I should like to know if it becomes us to violate a treaty made with the Indians

when we please, regardless of every principle of truth and of honor? We should be careful if it were with a power able to war with us; and it argues a degree of infinite meanness and indescribable degradation on our part to act differently with the Indians, who confide in our honor and justice, and who call the President their Great Father, and confide in him. Mr. President, it is in the power of the Congress of the United States to do some justice to the Indians by giving them a government of their own, and encouraging them in their organization and improvement by inviting their delegates to a place on the floor of the Senate and House of Representatives. If you will not do it, the sin will lie at your door, and Providence, in His own way, mysterious and incomprehensible to us though it is, will accomplish all His purposes, and may at some day avenge the wrongs of the Indians upon our nation. As a people we can save them; and the sooner the great work is begun, the sooner will humanity have cause to rejoice in its accomplishment.

Mr. President, I shall say but little more. My address may have been desultory. It embraces many subjects which it would be very hard to keep in entire order. We have, in the first place, the extensive territory; then we have the considerations due to the Indians; and then we have the proposed repeal of the Missouri Compromise, which seems to require the most explanation, and to be the main point in the controversy. The great principle involved in that repeal is non-intervention, which, we are told, is to be of no practical benefit if the compromise is repealed. It can have no effect but to keep up agitation.

Sir, the friends who have survived the distinguished men who took prominent parts in the drama of the Compromise of 1850 ought to feel gratified that those men are not capable of participating in the events of today, but that they were permitted, after they had accomplished their labors, and seen their country in peace, to leave the world, as Simeon did, with the exclamation: "Lord, now lettest thou thy servant

depart in peace, for mine eyes have seen thy salvation." They departed in peace, and they left their country in peace. They felt, as they were about to be gathered to the tombs of their fathers, that the country they had loved so well, and which had honored them—that country upon whose fame and name their doings had shed a bright lustre which shines abroad throughout all Christendom—was reposing in peace and happiness. What would their emotions be if they could now be present and see an effort made, if not so designed, to undo all their work, and to tear asunder the cords that they had bound around the hearts of their countrymen? They have departed. The nation felt the wound; and we see the memorials of woe still in this Chamber. The proud symbol (the eagle) above your head remains enshrouded in black, as if deplored the misfortune which has fallen upon us, or as a fearful omen of future calamities which await our nation in the event this bill should become a law. Above it I behold the

majestic figure of Washington, whose presence must ever inspire patriotic emotions, and command the admiration and love of every American heart. By these associations I adjure you to regard the contract once made to harmonize and preserve this Union. *Maintain the Missouri Compromise!* Stir not up *agitation!* Give us peace!

This much I was bound to declare—in behalf of my country, as I believe, and I know in behalf of my constituents. In the discharge of my duty I have acted fearlessly. The events of the future are left in the hands of a wise Providence.

SAM HOUSTON

SPEECH ON TREATMENT OF INDIANS, DELIVERED IN THE UNITED STATES SENATE DECEMBER 31, 1854

MR. HOUSTON. Mr. President, I hardly know what to say in reply to the Senator from Iowa, for I hardly know what to think of his speech. [Laughter.] If I were to characterize his remarks in any way, I should say that they were, at least, very remarkable. In the first place, let me say to that honorable Senator, and to the honorable Senator from Florida, that they were talking about things of which I knew very little, for I was not in the United States when the occurrences to which they alluded took place, and I was not, therefore, familiar with the history of those wars. If I am not mistaken, however, it was an outrage of a *very delicate character which brought on the Florida war.*

MR. MALLORY. That is a mistake, sir.

MR. HOUSTON. Well, sir, that was the report which was brought to Texas. Whether it was true or not, I do not know; but that was the information which I received from people from that section of the country. As for the Black Hawk war, I know little or nothing about it; for, in Texas at that time, we had no mail communication with the United States, and we got but few papers from the states, so that I remained uninformed in relation to those matters; but, no doubt, they were very exciting. The Senator from Iowa said the Black Hawk war was brought on by a council of the nation; but I have heard that an examination of the circumstances will show that the first outrage was committed by an individual, not by the concurrence of the nation, though they afterward became involved in the general war. In that statement, I believe, I am sustained by the history of the times.

I have already stated that occasions occur where outlaws among the Indians commit acts of aggression on the whites,

and the whites immediately retaliate on the Indian nations, and these nations, in self-defence, become involved in war; but *I never knew a case where a treaty, which was made and carried out in good faith, was violated by the Indians.* In Florida the Indians complained that they had been deceived in the treaty, and that the boundaries assigned were not as they understood them; and they killed their own chiefs. It was charged that some of the agents were involved in speculations to a great extent dependent on the treaty. I recollect it was so stated at the time.

I think, sir, the Senator's speech was of a remarkable character in relation to politics and other matters, which I am sorry that he has introduced. He has undertaken to admonish me, and for this admonition I am much obliged to him. His experience, his superior opportunities, may entitle him, in the opinion of others, to the right of admonishing me; and I am perfectly willing, on that point, to yield my own opinion to what may be the general

impression of the body. I did not provoke his remark by any allusion to any one, predicated upon my own disposition to arraign the conduct of others; nor have I asserted anything in regard to the officers of the army, but what are matters of fact, taken from the official documents. When I made suggestions of a speculative character, I gave them as such.

But, Mr. President, the Senator from Iowa has said that he would not have been astonished if the rankest abolitionist had made such a speech, and had avowed such sentiments as I did. He says that, if a man in Western New York had presented such views, he would not have been surprised. Now, I wish to know what connection my remarks had with abolition? What connection they had with anyone in Western New York? In what respect have I catered to any prejudice or morbid sensibility? I have stood here alone in this body, against a powerful array of talent and influence, contending for what I conceived to be a great principle, and which

must obtain, or the Indian race be exterminated.

In regard to that principle, I have the concurrence of the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. Bell], who was once Secretary of War, and, as such, had control of the Indian Department, and who has, since that period, been a prominent member of the Committee on Indian Affairs of the Senate. I believe that my opinions are also concurred in by the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. Sebastian], who is the head of the Committee on Indian Affairs. I can inform the Senator from Iowa that I will sustain him to the extent of my humble abilities in any measure he may introduce in favor of the Indians, and for the establishment of a policy which will ultimately benefit them, and reflect credit upon the government of the United States.

I have not been regardless of what I considered the honor of the United States, and the interest of the Indians. In no instance have I been remiss in these particulars. I could not cater to any passion or

prejudice on this subject, because *I know of no societies in the North, or in the South, or in any section of this Union for the advancement of the civilization of the Indians. If such societies exist, I am not in correspondence with them*, nor am I aware of the existence of any such associations. Then, for what ulterior purposes could I advocate the rights of the Indians, or invoke the justice of this government toward them? Could it be any expectation of political benefits? None upon earth.

I presume the abolitionists are perfectly absorbed in the subject of abolition. For myself, I would rather see them turn their attention to the amelioration of the condition of the Indians on our Western wilds, or to the reclamation of those whom they hold in slavery. There are not less than two thousand prisoners in the hands of the Comanches; four hundred in one band, in my own state. The prisoners can be reclaimed from those Indians, who are coming down to settle upon their reservations. They take no prisoners but women and

boys. The boys they treat with a degree of barbarity unprecedented; and their cruelties toward the females are nameless and atrocious. Our government is silent in relation to them. Has humanity no claims upon us in this respect? Has justice no demand unanswered?

Sir, we have not seen the facts to which I have just alluded impressed on a page of our official communications from the War Department. The officers stationed near the places where those transactions have taken place have not reported them. No effort has been made to obtain appropriations for the reclamation and redemption of those prisoners. This is a subject which calls aloud for the humane influence of the Senator. There is no sickly sentimentality in this, but a manly upheaving of soul that, in consideration of suffering humanity, demands that the government shall rescue them from the most cruel and unrelenting bondage.

I have been accused of catering to a morbid, sickly sentimentality. Sir, I never

yielded anything of my own conscientious convictions to consult the opinions of others. I never stooped to solicit office; but I have received and accepted it to my own disadvantage. I might have hated the Indians, if I had a soul no bigger than a shellbark.

In my boyish days, before manhood had hardened my thews and muscles, I received balls and arrows in this body, in defence of suffering humanity, particularly women and children, against the Indians; and I aided in reclaiming the brightest spot of the South —Alabama. When I remember that, in those early days, I assisted in rescuing females and children from the relentless tomahawk and scalping-knife, it seems to me that the charge that I have stooped to court favor by the expression of my sentiments on this question is one which falls harmless at my feet.

CHRONOLOGY

ALEXANDER H. STEPHENS was born in Taliaferro County, Georgia, February 11, 1812.

His boyhood was spent in poverty and toil, with only occasional attendance at school. A society for the education of young men for the Presbyterian ministry provided the means for his education in Franklin College, from which he was graduated in 1832. Subsequently, he repaid all of this money with interest.

He did not enter the ministry, but studied law without a tutor, and meanwhile taught school. In 1834, at the age of 22, was admitted to the bar.

In 1836 was elected to the State Legislature. In 1841 was elected to Congress from Georgia, and held his seat until he voluntarily retired, 1859.

1861, became Vice-President of the Confederacy. Was Chairman of the Confederate Commission which met Lincoln and Seward at Hampton Roads, February, 1865, to confer upon terms of peace.

From May to October, 1865, was imprisoned in Fort Warren, Boston Harbor.

1866, was elected to the United States Senate, but was not permitted to take his seat.

1871-73, edited the *Atlanta Sun*.

1873, became member of the United States House of Representatives, from which he retired voluntarily in 1882.

In the fall of 1882 was elected Governor of Georgia, and died in the executive mansion March 4, 1883.

ALEXANDER H. STEPHENS

THE "CORNER-STONE" ADDRESS DELIVERED
AT THE ATHENAEUM, SAVANNAH, GA.,
MARCH 21, 1861

MR. MAYOR AND GENTLEMEN:

We are in the midst of one of the greatest epochs in our history. The last ninety days will mark one of the most interesting eras in the history of modern civilization. Seven states have in the last three months thrown off an old government and formed a new. This revolution has been signally marked, up to this time, by the fact of its having been accomplished without the loss of a single drop of blood. This new constitution, or form of government, constitutes the subject to which your attention will be partly invited.

In reference to it, I make this first general remark: it amply secures all our ancient rights, franchises, and liberties. All the great principles of Magna Charta are

retained in it. No citizen is deprived of life, liberty, or property, but by the judgment of his peers under the laws of the land. The great principle of religious liberty, which was the honor and pride of the old Constitution, is still maintained and secured. All the essentials of the old Constitution, which have endeared it to the hearts of the American people, have been preserved and perpetuated. Some changes have been made. Some of these I should prefer not to have seen made; but other important changes do meet my cordial approbation. They form great improvements upon the old Constitution. So, taking the whole new Constitution, I have no hesitancy in giving it as my judgment that it is decidedly better than the old.

Allow me briefly to allude to some of these improvements. The question of building up class interests, or fostering one branch of industry to the prejudice of another under the exercise of the revenue power, which gave us so much trouble under the old Constitution, is put at rest

forever under the new. We allow the imposition of no duty with a view of giving advantage to one class of persons, in any trade or business, over those of another. All, under our system, stand upon the same broad principles of perfect equality. Honest labor and enterprise are left free and unrestricted, in whatever pursuit they may be engaged. This old thorn of the tariff, which was the cause of so much irritation in the old body politic, is removed forever from the new.

Again, the subject of internal improvements, under the power of Congress to regulate commerce, is put at rest under our system. The power, claimed by construction under the old Constitution, was at least a doubtful one; it rested solely upon construction. We of the South, generally apart from considerations of constitutional principles, opposed its exercise upon grounds of its inexpediency and injustice. . . . Our opposition sprang from no hostility to commerce, or to all necessary aids for facilitating it. With us

it was simply a question upon whom the burden should fall. In Georgia, for instance, we have done as much for the cause of internal improvements as any other portion of the country, according to population and means. We have stretched out lines of railroad from the seaboard to the mountains; dug down the hills, and filled up the valleys, at a cost of \$25,000,000. . . . No state was in greater need of such facilities than Georgia, but we did not ask that these works should be made by appropriations out of the common treasury. The cost of the grading, the superstructure, and the equipment of our roads was borne by those who had entered into the enterprise. Nay, more, not only the cost of the iron—no small item in the general cost—was borne in the same way, but we were compelled to pay into the common treasury several millions of dollars for the privilege of importing the iron, after the price was paid for it abroad. What justice was there in taking this money, which our people paid into the common treasury on the

importation of our iron, and applying it to the improvement of rivers and harbors elsewhere? The true principle is to subject the commerce of every locality to whatever burdens may be necessary to facilitate it. If Charleston harbor needs improvement, let the commerce of Charleston bear the burden. . . . This, again, is the broad principle of perfect equality and justice; and it is especially set forth and established in our new constitution.

Another feature to which I will allude is that the new constitution provides that cabinet ministers and heads of departments may have the privilege of seats upon the floor of the Senate and House of Representatives, may have the right to participate in the debates and discussions upon the various subjects of administration. I should have preferred that this provision should have gone further, and required the President to select his constitutional advisers from the Senate and House of Representatives. That would have conformed entirely to the practice in the British

Parliament, which, in my judgment, is one of the wisest provisions in the British constitution. It is the only feature that saves that government. It is that which gives it stability in its facility to change its administration. Ours, as it is, is a great approximation to the right principle.

Another change in the Constitution relates to the length of the tenure of the Presidential office. In the new constitution it is six years instead of four, and the President is rendered ineligible for a re-election. This is certainly a decidedly conservative change. It will remove from the incumbent all temptation to use his office or exert the powers confided to him for any objects of personal ambition. The only incentive to that higher ambition which should move and actuate one holding such high trusts in his hands will be the good of the people, the advancement, happiness, safety, honor, and true glory of the Confederacy.

But, not to be tedious in enumerating the numerous changes for the better, allow

me to allude to one other—though last, not least. The new constitution has put at rest forever all the agitating questions relating to our peculiar institution, African slavery as it exists amongst us, the proper status of the negro in our form of civilization. This was the immediate cause of the late rupture and present revolution. Jefferson, in his forecast, had anticipated this as the “rock upon which the old Union would split.” He was right. What was conjecture with him is now a realized fact. But whether he fully comprehended the great truth upon which that rock stood and stands may be doubted. The prevailing ideas entertained by him and most of the leading statesmen at the time of the formation of the old Constitution were that the enslavement of the African was in violation of the laws of nature; that it was wrong in principle, socially, morally, and politically. It was an evil they knew not well how to deal with; but the general opinion of the men of that day was that, somehow or other, in the order of Provi-

dence, the institution would be evanescent and pass away. This idea, though not incorporated in the Constitution, was the prevailing idea at that time. The Constitution, it is true, secured every essential guarantee to the institution while it should last, and hence no argument can be justly urged against the constitutional guaranties thus secured, because of the common sentiment of the day. Those ideas, however, were fundamentally wrong. They rested upon the assumption of the equality of races. This was an error. It was a sandy foundation, and the government built upon it fell when "the storm came and the wind blew."

Our new government is founded upon exactly the opposite idea; its foundations are laid, its corner-stone rests, upon the great truth that the negro is not equal to the white man, that slavery—subordination to the superior race—is his natural and normal condition.

This, our new government, is the first in the history of the world based upon this

great physical, philosophical, and moral truth. This truth has been slow in the process of its development, like all other truths in the various departments of science. It has been so even amongst us. Many who hear me, perhaps, can recollect well that this truth was not generally admitted, even within their day. The errors of the past generation still clung to many as late as twenty years ago. Those at the North who still cling to these errors, with a zeal above knowledge, we justly denominate fanatics. All fanaticism springs from an aberration of the mind, from a defect in reasoning. It is a species of insanity. One of the most striking characteristics of insanity, in many instances, is forming correct conclusions from fancied or erroneous premises. So with the anti-slavery fanatics; their conclusions are right, if their premises were. They assume that the negro is equal, and hence conclude that he is entitled to equal rights and privileges with the white man. If their premises were correct, their conclusions would be

logical and just; but, their premises being wrong, their whole argument fails. I recollect once hearing a gentleman from one of the Northern states, of great power and ability, announce in the House of Representatives, with imposing effect, that we of the South would be compelled ultimately to yield upon this subject of slavery, that it was as impossible to war successfully against a principle in politics as it was in physics or mechanics; that the principle would ultimately prevail; that we, in maintaining slavery as it exists with us, were warring against a principle, founded in nature, the principle of the equality of men. The reply I made to him was that upon his own grounds we should ultimately succeed, and that he and his associates in this crusade against our institutions would ultimately fail. The truth announced, that it was as impossible to war successfully against a principle in politics as it was in physics and mechanics, I admitted; but told him that it was he, and those acting with him, who were warring against

a principle. They were attempting to make things equal which the Creator had made unequal.

In the conflict, thus far, success has been on our side, complete throughout the length and breadth of the Confederate states. It is upon this, as I have stated, our social fabric is firmly planted; and I cannot permit myself to doubt the ultimate success of a full recognition of this principle throughout the civilized and enlightened world.

As I have stated, the truth of this principle may be slow in development, as all truths are and ever have been, in the various branches of science. It was so with the principles announced by Galileo. It was so with Adam Smith and his principles of political economy. It was so with Harvey and his theory of the circulation of the blood; it is stated that not a single one of the medical profession, living at the time of the announcement of the truths made by him, admitted them. Now they are universally acknowledged. May we not, therefore, look with confidence to

the ultimate universal acknowledgment of the truths upon which our system rests? It is the first government ever instituted upon the principles in strict conformity to nature and the ordination of Providence in furnishing the materials of human society. Many governments have been founded upon the principle of the subordination and servitude of certain classes of the same race; such were and are in violation of the laws of nature. Our system commits no such violation of nature's laws. With us, all the white race, however high or low, rich or poor, are equal in the eye of the law. Not so with the negro; subordination is his place. He, by nature or by the curse against Canaan, is fitted for that condition which he occupies in our system. The architect, in the construction of buildings, lays the foundation with the proper material —the granite; then comes the brick or the marble. The substratum of our society is made of the material fitted by nature for it; and by experience we know that it is best not only for the superior race, but

for the inferior race, that it should be so. It is, indeed, in conformity with the ordinance of the Creator. It is not for us to inquire into the wisdom of His ordinances, or to question them. For His own purposes He has made one race to differ from another, as He has made "one star to differ from another star in glory." The great objects of humanity are best attained when there is conformity to His laws and decrees in the formation of governments as well as in all things else. Our Confederacy is founded upon principles in strict conformity with these views. This stone, which was rejected by the first builders, "is become the chief of the corner," the real "corner-stone" in our new edifice. . . .

Mr. Jefferson said in his inaugural, in 1801, after the heated contest preceding his election, that there might be differences of opinion without differences of principle, and that all, to some extent, had been Federalists, and all Republicans. So it may now be said of us that, whatever differences of opinion as to the best policy

in having a co-operation with our border sister slave states, if the worst came to the worst, as we were all co-operationists, we are all now for independence, whether they come or not. . . .

We are a young republic, just entering upon the arena of nations; we will be the architects of our own fortunes. Our destiny, under Providence, is in our own hands. With wisdom, prudence, and statesmanship on the part of our public men, and intelligence, virtue, and patriotism on the part of the people, success to the full measure of our most sanguine hopes may be looked for. But, if unwise counsels prevail, if we become divided, if schisms arise, if dissensions spring up, if factions are engendered, if party spirit, nourished by unholy personal ambition, shall rear its hydra head, I have no good to prophesy for you. Without intelligence, virtue, integrity, and patriotism on the part of the people, no republic or representative government can be durable or stable.

CHRONOLOGY

ROBERT YOUNG HAYNE was born in St. Paul's Parish, Colleton District, South Carolina, November 10, 1791. He was educated in the schools of Charleston.

In 1810 he entered the office of Hon. Langdon Cleves for the study of law, and was admitted to the bar in 1812.

Was captain of the Third South Carolina Regiment in the War of 1812.

Married Miss Pinckney, who died in 1818, and two years later married Miss Alston.

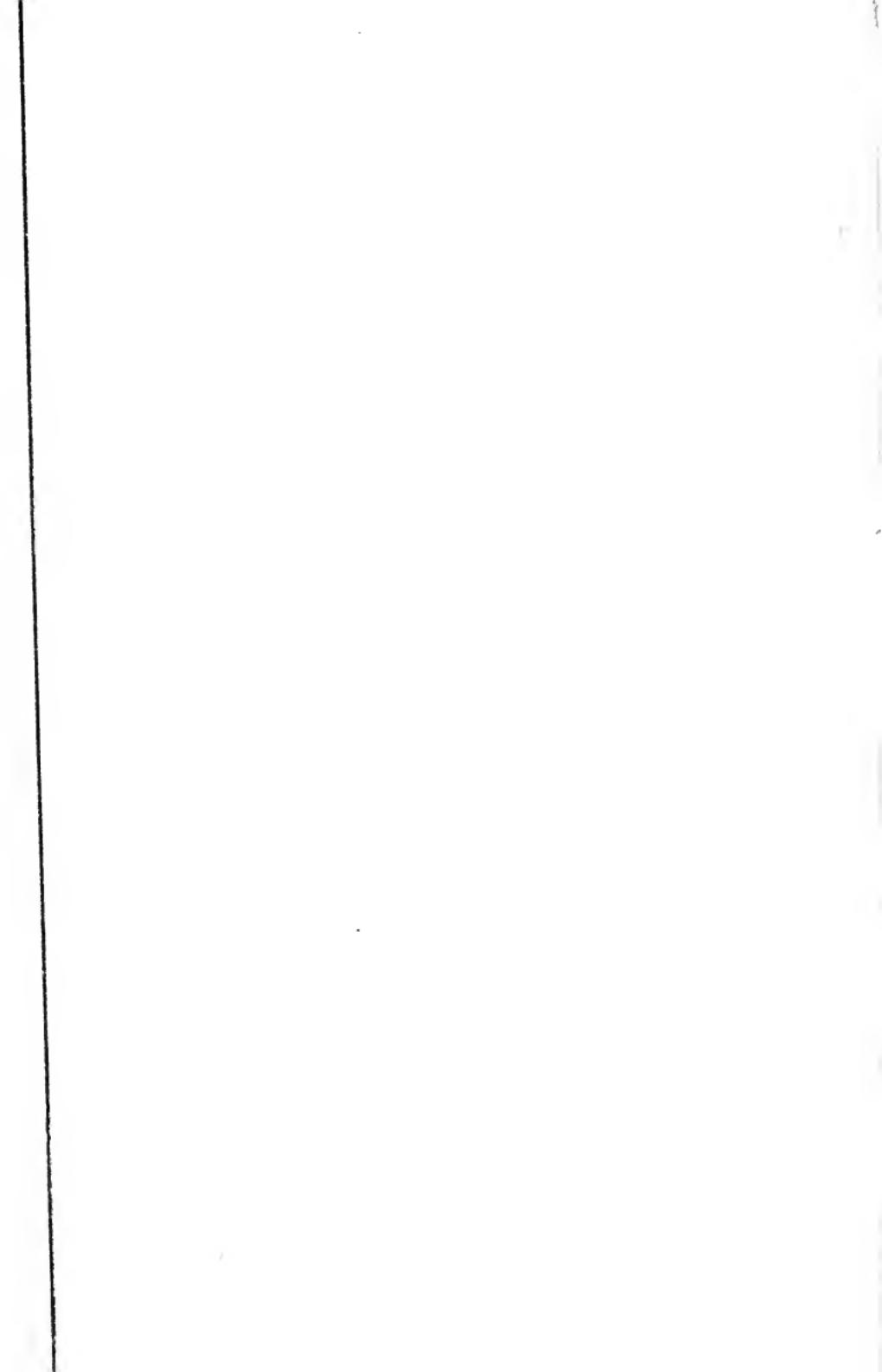
In 1814 was elected to the South Carolina state legislature, and after serving two terms was chosen Speaker.

At twenty-six years of age was Attorney-General of the state, and served in that capacity until 1823, when he was elected to the United States Senate.

In 1832 was elected Governor of South Carolina.

In 1834 was elected Mayor of Charleston.

In 1837 became president of the Louisville, Cincinnati, and Charleston Railroad Company, which post he held until his death at Asheville September 24, 1839.





ROBERT YOUNG HAYNE

ROBERT YOUNG HAYNE

SPEECH ON FOOT'S RESOLUTION DELIVERED IN THE UNITED STATES SENATE JANUARY 21, 1830

The resolution "Proposed an inquiry into the expediency of abolishing the office of surveyor-general of public lands, and for suspending further surveys until those (lands) already in the market shall have been disposed of."

When I took occasion, Mr. President, two days ago, to throw out some ideas with respect to the policy of the government in relation to the public lands, nothing certainly could have been further from my thoughts than that I should be compelled again to throw myself upon the indulgence of the Senate. Little did I expect to be called upon to meet such an argument as was yesterday urged by the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. Webster). Sir, I questioned no man's opinions; I impeached no man's motives; I charged no party, or state, or section of country with hostility

to any other, but ventured, I thought, in a becoming spirit, to put forth my own sentiments in relation to a great national question of public policy. Such was my course. The gentleman from Missouri (Mr. Benton), it is true, had charged upon the Eastern states an early and continued hostility toward the West, and referred to a number of historical facts and documents in support of that charge. Now, sir, how have these different arguments been met? The honorable gentleman from Massachusetts, after deliberating a whole night upon his course, comes into this chamber to vindicate New England; and instead of making up his issue with the gentleman from Missouri, on the charges which he had preferred, chooses to consider me as the author of those charges, and, losing sight entirely of that gentleman, selects me as his adversary, and pours out all the vials of his mighty wrath upon my devoted head. Nor is he willing to stop there. He goes on to assail the institutions and policy of the South, and calls in question the principles and

conduct of the state which I have the honor, in part, to represent. When I find a gentleman of mature age and experience, of acknowledged talents and profound sagacity, pursuing a course like this, declining the contest offered from the West, and making war upon the unoffending South, I must believe, I am bound to believe, he has some object in view which he has not ventured to disclose. Mr. President, why is this? Has the gentleman discovered in former controversies with the gentleman from Missouri that he is overmatched by that Senator? And does he hope for an easy victory over a more feeble adversary? Has the gentleman's distempered fancy been disturbed by gloomy forebodings of "new alliances to be formed," at which he hinted? Has the ghost of the murdered Coalition* come back, like the ghost of Banquo, to "sear the eyeballs" of the gentleman, and will it not "down at his

*The alleged "Coalition" between the friends of John Quincy Adams and Henry Clay, by which Adams was elected to the Presidency in 1825.

bidding"? Are dark visions of broken hopes and honors lost forever, still floating before his heated imagination? Sir, if it be his object to thrust me between the gentleman from Missouri and himself, in order to rescue the East from the contest it has provoked with the West, he shall not be gratified. Sir, I will not be dragged into the defence of my friend from Missouri. The South shall not be forced into a conflict not its own. The gentleman from Missouri is able to fight his own battles. The gallant West needs no aid from the South to repel any attack which may be made on them from any quarter. Let the gentleman from Massachusetts controvert the facts and arguments of the gentleman from Missouri, if he can; and if he win the victory let him wear its honors; I shall not deprive him of his laurels.

The gentleman from Massachusetts, in reply to my remarks on the injurious operations of our land system on the prosperity of the West, pronounced an extravagant eulogium on the paternal care which the

government had extended toward the West, to which he attributed all that was great and excellent in the present condition of the new states. The language of the gentleman on this topic fell upon my ears like the almost forgotten tones of the Tory leaders of the British Parliament at the commencement of the American Revolution. They, too, discovered that the colonies had grown great under the fostering care of the mother country; and I must confess, while listening to the gentleman, I thought the appropriate reply to his argument was to be found in the remark of a celebrated orator, made on that occasion—"They have grown great in spite of your protection."

The gentleman, in commenting on the policy of the government in relation to the new states, has introduced to our notice a certain Nathan Dane, of Massachusetts, to whom he attributes the celebrated ordinance of '87, by which, he tells us, "slavery was forever excluded from the new states north of the Ohio." After eulogizing the wisdom of this provision in terms of the most

extravagant praise, he breaks forth in admiration of the greatness of Nathan Dane—and great indeed he must be, if it be true, as stated by the Senator from Massachusetts, that "he was greater than Solon and Lycurgus, Minos, Numa Pompilius, and all the legislators and philosophers of the world," ancient and modern. Sir, to such high authority it is certainly my duty, in a becoming spirit of humility, to submit. And yet the gentleman will pardon me when I say that it is a little unfortunate for the fame of this great legislator that the gentleman from Missouri should have proved that he was not the author of the ordinance of '87, on which the Senator from Massachusetts has reared so glorious a monument to his name. Sir, I doubt not the Senator will feel some compassion for our ignorance when I tell him that so little are we acquainted with the modern great men of New England that, until he informed us yesterday that we possessed a Solon and a Lycurgus in the person of Nathan Dane, he was only known to the South as a member

of a celebrated assembly, called and known by the name of the "Hartford Convention." In the proceedings of that assembly, which I hold in my hand (at p. 19), will be found, in a few lines, the history of Nathan Dane; and a little further on there is conclusive evidence of that ardent devotion to the interest of the new states which, it seems, has given him a just claim to the title of "Father of the West." By the second resolution of the "Hartford Convention" it is declared "that it is expedient to attempt to make provision for restraining Congress in the exercise of an unlimited power to make new states, and admitting them into the Union." So much for Nathan Dane, of Beverly, Massachusetts.

In commenting upon my views in relation to the public lands, the gentleman insists that, it being one of the conditions of the grants that these lands should be applied to the common benefit of all the states, "they must always remain a fund for revenue"; and adds, "they must be treated as so much treasure." Sir, the gentleman could hardly

find language strong enough to convey his disapprobation of the policy which I had ventured to recommend to the favorable consideration of the country. And what, sir, was that policy, and what is the difference between that gentleman and myself on this subject? I threw out the idea that the public lands ought not to be reserved forever, as "a great fund for revenue"; that they ought not to be treated "as a great treasure"; but that the course of our policy should rather be directed toward the creation of new states, and building up great and flourishing communities.

Now, sir, will it be believed, by those who now hear me,—and who listened to the gentleman's denunciation of my doctrines yesterday—that a book lay open before him—nay, that he held it in his hand, and read from it certain passages of his own speech delivered to the House of Representatives in 1825, in which speech he himself contended for the very doctrines I had advocated, and almost in the same terms? Here is the speech of the Hon. Daniel

Webster, contained in the first volume of Gales and Seaton's Register of Debates (p. 251), delivered in the House of Representatives January 18, 1825, in a debate on the Cumberland Road—the very debate from which the Senator read yesterday. I shall read from the celebrated speech two passages from which it will appear that, both as to the past and the future policy of the government in relation to the public lands, the gentleman from Massachusetts maintained, in 1825, substantially the same opinions which I have advanced, but which he now so strongly reprobates. I said, sir, that the system of credit sales by which the West had been kept constantly in debt to the United States, and by which their wealth was drained off to be expended elsewhere, had operated injuriously on their prosperity. On this point the gentleman from Massachusetts, in January, 1825, expressed himself thus: "There could be no doubt, if gentlemen looked at the money received into the treasury from the sale of the public lands to the West, and then

looked to the whole amount expended by government (even including the whole amount of what was laid out for the army), the latter must be allowed to be very inconsiderable, and there must be a constant drain of money from the West to pay for the public lands. It might indeed be said that this was no more than the reflux of capital which had previously gone over the mountains. Be it so. Still its practical effect was to produce inconvenience, if not distress, by absorbing the money of the people."

I contended that the public lands ought not to be treated merely as "a fund for revenue"; that they ought not to be hoarded "as a great treasure." On this point the Senator expressed himself thus: "Government, he believed, had received eighteen or twenty millions of dollars from the public lands, and it was with the greatest satisfaction he adverted to the change which had been introduced in the mode of paying for them; yet he should never think the national domain was to be re-

garded as any great source of revenue. The great object of the government, in respect of these lands, was not so much the money derived from the sale as it was the getting them settled. What he meant to say was, he did not think they ought to hug that domain as a great treasure, which was to enrich the Exchequer."

Now, Mr. President, it will be seen that the very doctrines which the gentleman abandons were urged by him in 1825; and if I had actually borrowed my sentiments from those which he then avowed, I could not have followed more closely in his footsteps. Sir, it is only since the gentleman quoted from this book, yesterday, that my attention has been turned to the sentiments he expressed in 1825; and if I had remembered them, I might possibly have been deterred from uttering sentiments here which, it might well be supposed, I had borrowed from that gentleman.

In 1825 the gentleman told the world that the public lands "ought not to be treated as a treasure." He now tells us

that "they must be treated as so much treasure." What the deliberate opinion of the gentleman on this subject may be, it belongs not to me to determine; but I do not think he can, with the shadow of justice or propriety, impugn my sentiments while his own recorded opinions are identical with my own. When the gentleman refers to the conditions of the grants under which the United States have acquired these lands, and insists that, as they are declared to be "for the common benefit of all the states," they can only be treated as so much treasure, I think he has applied a rule of construction too narrow for the case. If, in the deeds of cession, it has been declared that the grants were intended "for the common benefit of all the states," it is clear, from other provisions, that they were not intended merely as so much property; for it is expressly declared that the object of the grants is the erection of new states; and the United States, in accepting this trust, bind themselves to facilitate the formation of those states, to be admitted

into the Union with all the rights and privileges of the original states. This, sir, was the great end to which all parties looked, and it is by the fulfillment of this high trust that "the common benefit of all the states" is to be best promoted. Sir, let me tell the gentleman that in the part of the country in which I live we do not measure political benefits by the money standard. We consider as more valuable than gold, liberty, principle, and justice. But, sir, if we are bound to act on the narrow principles contended for by the gentleman, I am wholly at a loss to conceive how he can reconcile his principles with his own practice. The lands are, it seems, to be treated "as so much treasure," and must be applied to the "common benefit of all the states." Now, if this be so, whence does he derive the right to appropriate them for partial and local objects? How can the gentleman consent to vote away immense bodies of these lands for canals in Indiana and Illinois, to the Louisiana and Portland Canal, to Kenyon College in Ohio, to schools for the deaf

and dumb, and other objects of a similar description? If grants of this character can fairly be considered as made "for the common benefit of all the states," it can only be because all the states are interested in the welfare of each—a principle which, carried to the full extent, destroys all distinction between local and national objects, and is certainly broad enough to embrace the principles for which I have ventured to contend. Sir, the true difference between us I take to be this: the gentleman wishes to treat the public lands as a great treasure, just as so much money in the treasury, to be applied to all objects, constitutional and unconstitutional, to which the public money is constantly applied. I consider it as a sacred trust which we ought to fulfill on the principles for which I have contended.

The Senator from Massachusetts has thought proper to present, in strong contrast, the friendly feelings of the East toward the West, with sentiments of an opposite character displayed by the South in relation to appropriations for internal

improvements. Now, sir, let it be recollected that the South have made no professions (I have certainly made none in their behalf) of regard for the West. It has been reserved for the gentleman from Massachusetts, while he vaunts over his own personal devotion to Western interests, to claim for the entire section of country to which he belongs an ardent friendship for the West, as manifested by their support of the system of internal improvement, while he casts in our teeth the reproach that the South has manifested hostility to Western interests in opposing appropriations for such objects. That gentleman, at the same time, acknowledged that the South entertains constitutional scruples on this subject. Are we then, sir, to understand that the gentleman considers it a just subject of reproach that we respect our oaths, by which we are bound "to preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States?" Would the gentleman have us manifest our love to the West by trampling under foot our constitutional scruples?

Does he not perceive, if the South is to be reproached with unkindness to the West in voting against appropriations which the gentleman admits they could not vote for without doing violence to their constitutional opinions, that he exposes himself to the question whether, if he were in our situation, he could vote for these appropriations, regardless of his scruples? No, sir, I will not do the gentleman so great injustice. He has fallen into this error from not having duly weighed the force and effect of the reproach which he was endeavoring to cast upon the South. In relation to the other point, the friendship manifested by New England toward the West in their support of the system of internal improvement, the gentleman will pardon me for saying that I think he is equally unfortunate in having introduced that topic. As that gentleman has forced it upon us, however, I cannot suffer it to pass unnoticed. When the gentleman tells us that the appropriations for internal improvements in the West would, in almost

every instance, have failed but for the New England votes, he has forgotten to tell us the when, the how, and the wherefore this new-born zeal for the West sprung up in the bosom of New England. If we look back only a few years, we will find in both Houses of Congress a uniform and steady opposition on the part of the members from the Eastern states, generally, to all appropriations of this character. At the time I became a member of this House, and for some time afterwards, a decided majority of the New England Senators were opposed to the very measures which the Senator from Massachusetts tells us they now cordially support. Sir, the journals are before me, and an examination of them will satisfy every gentleman of that fact.

It must be well known to everyone whose experience dates back as far as 1825 that, up to a certain period, New England was generally opposed to appropriations for internal improvements in the West. The gentleman from Massachusetts may be himself an exception, but if he went for

the system before 1825, it is certain that his colleagues did not go with him.

In the session of 1824 and '25, however, (a memorable era in the history of this country), a wonderful change took place in New England in relation to Western interests. Sir, an extraordinary union of sympathies and of interests was then effected, which brought the East and the West into close alliance. The book from which I have before read contains the first public annunciation of that happy reconciliation of conflicting interests, personal and political, which brought the East and West together, and locked in a fraternal embrace the two great orators of the East and the West. Sir, it was on the 18th of January, 1825, while the result of the presidential election, in the House of Representatives, was still doubtful, while the whole country was looking with intense anxiety to that legislative hall where the mighty drama was so soon to be acted, that we saw the leaders of two great parties in the House and in the nation, "taking sweet counsel

together," and, in a celebrated debate on the Cumberland Road, fighting side by side for Western interests. It was on that memorable occasion that the Senator from Massachusetts held out the white flag to the West, and uttered those liberal sentiments which he yesterday so indignantly repudiated. Then it was that that happy union between the members of the celebrated *coalition* was consummated, whose immediate issue was a president from one quarter of the Union, with the succession (as it was supposed) secured to another. The "American system," before a rude, disjointed, and misshapen mass, now assumed form and consistency. Then it was that it became "the settled policy of the government" that this system should be so administered as to create a reciprocity of interests and a reciprocal distribution of governmental favors, East and West (the tariff and internal improvements), while the South—yes, sir, the impracticable South—was to be "out of your protection." The gentleman may boast as much as he

pleases of the friendship of New England for the West, as displayed in their support of internal improvement; but, when he next introduces that topic, I trust that he will tell us when that friendship commenced, how it was brought about, and why it was established. Before I leave this topic, I must be permitted to say that the true character of the policy now pursued by the gentleman from Massachusetts and his friends, in relation to appropriations of land and money, for the benefit of the West, is in my estimation very similar to that pursued by Jacob of old toward his brother Esau: "it robs them of their birthright for a mess of pottage."

The gentleman from Massachusetts, in alluding to a remark of mine, that before any disposition could be made of the public lands, the national debt (for which they stand pledged) must be first paid, took occasion to intimate "that the extraordinary fervor which seems to exist in a certain quarter (meaning the South, sir), for the payment of the debt, arises from a disposi-

tion to weaken the ties which bind the people to the Union." While the gentleman deals us this blow, he professes an ardent desire to see the debt speedily extinguished. He must excuse me, however, for feeling some distrust on that subject until I find this disposition manifested by something stronger than professions. I shall look for acts, decided and unequivocal acts; for the performance of which an opportunity will very soon (if I am not greatly mistaken) be afforded. Sir, if I were at liberty to judge of the course which that gentleman would pursue, from the principles which he has laid down in relation to this matter, I should be bound to conclude that he will be found acting with those with whom it is a darling object to prevent the payment of the public debt. He tells us he is desirous of paying the debt, "because we are under an obligation to discharge it." Now, sir, suppose it should happen that the public creditors with whom we have contracted the obligation should release us from it, so far as to declare their

willingness to wait for payment for fifty years to come, provided only the interest shall be punctually discharged. The gentleman from Massachusetts will then be released from the obligation which now makes him desirous of paying the debt; and, let me tell the gentleman, the holders of the stock will not only release us from this obligation, but they will implore, nay, they will even pay us not to pay them. "But," adds the gentleman, "so far as the debt may have an effect in binding the debtors to the country, and thereby serving as a link to hold the states together, he would be glad that it should exist forever." Surely then, sir, on the gentleman's own principles, he must be opposed to the payment of the debt.

Sir, let me tell that gentleman that the South repudiates the idea that a pecuniary dependence on the federal government is one of the legitimate means of holding the states together. A moneyed interest in the government is essentially a base interest; and just so far as it operates to bind the

feelings of those who are subjected to it to the government,—just so far as it operates in creating sympathies and interests that would not otherwise exist,—is it opposed to all the principles of free government, and at war with virtue and patriotism. Sir, the link which binds the public creditors, as such, to their country, binds them equally to all governments, whether arbitrary or free. In a free government, this principle of abject dependence, if extended through all the ramifications of society, must be fatal to liberty. Already have we made alarming strides in that direction. The entire class of manufacturers, the holders of stocks, with their hundreds of millions of capital, are held to the government by the strong link of pecuniary interests; millions of people—entire sections of country, interested, or believing themselves to be so, in the public lands, and the public treasure—are bound to the government by the expectation of pecuniary favors. If this system is carried much further, no man can fail to see that every generous motive of

attachment to the country will be destroyed, and in its place will spring up those low, groveling, base, and selfish feelings which bind men to the footstool of a despot by bonds as strong and enduring as those which attach them to free institutions. Sir, I would lay the foundation of this government in the affections of the people: I would teach them to cling to it by dispensing equal justice and, above all, by securing the "blessings of liberty to themselves and to their posterity."

The honorable gentleman from Massachusetts has gone out of his way to pass a high eulogium on the state of Ohio. In the most impassioned tones of eloquence he described her majestic march to greatness. He told us that, having already left all the other states far behind, she was now passing by Virginia and Pennsylvania, and about to take her station by the side of New York. To all this, sir, I was disposed most cordially to respond. When, however, the gentleman proceeded to contrast the state of Ohio with Kentucky, to the disadvantage

of the latter, I listened to him with regret; and when he proceeded further to attribute the great and, as he supposed, acknowledged superiority of the former in population, wealth, and general prosperity, to the policy of Nathan Dane, of Massachusetts, which had secured to the people of Ohio (by the ordinance of '87) a population of freemen, I will confess that my feelings suffered a revulsion which I am now unable to describe in any language sufficiently respectful toward the gentleman from Massachusetts. In contrasting the state of Ohio with Kentucky, for the purpose of pointing out the superiority of the former, and of attributing that superiority to the existence of slavery in the one state, and its absence in the other, I thought I could discern the very spirit of the Missouri question* intruded into this debate for objects best known to the gentleman himself. Did that gentleman, sir, when he formed the determination to cross the Southern

*The Missouri Compromise of 1820, excluding slavery from all territory north of the parallel of 36 30.

border, in order to invade the state of South Carolina, deem it prudent or necessary to enlist under his banners the prejudices of the world, which, like Swiss troops, may be engaged in any cause, and are prepared to serve under any leader? Did he desire to avail himself of those remorseless allies, the passions of mankind, of which it may be more truly said than of the savage tribes of the wilderness that "their known rule of warfare is an indiscriminate slaughter of all ages, sexes, and conditions?" Or was it supposed, sir, that, in a premeditated and unprovoked attack upon the South, it was advisable to begin by a gentle admonition of our supposed weakness, in order to prevent us from making that firm and manly resistance due to our own character and our dearest interests? Was the significant hint of the weakness of slaveholding states, when contrasted with the superior strength of free states,—like the glare of the weapon half drawn from its scabbard,—intended to enforce the lessons of prudence and of patriotism, which the gentleman had

resolved, out of his abundant generosity, gratuitously to bestow upon us? Mr. President, the impression which has gone abroad of the weakness of the South, as connected with the slave question, exposes us to such constant attacks, has done us so much injury, and is calculated to produce such infinite mischiefs, that I embrace the occasion presented by the remarks of the gentleman from Massachusetts, to declare that we are ready to meet the question promptly and fearlessly. It is one from which we are not disposed to shrink, in whatsoever form or under whatever circumstances it may be pressed upon us.

We are ready to make up the issue with the gentleman, as to the influence of slavery on individual or national character—on the prosperity and greatness either of the United States or of particular states. Sir, when arraigned before the bar of public opinion on this charge of slavery, we can stand up with conscious rectitude, plead not guilty, and put ourselves upon God and our country. Sir, we will not consent to

look at slavery in the abstract. We will not stop to inquire whether the black man, as some philosophers have contended, is of an inferior race, nor whether his color and condition are the effects of a curse inflicted for the offences of his ancestors. We deal in no abstractions. We will not look back to inquire whether our fathers were guiltless in introducing slaves into this country. If an inquiry should ever be instituted into these matters, however, it will be found that the profits of the slave trade were not confined to the South. Southern ships and Southern sailors were not the instruments of bringing slaves to the shores of America, nor did our merchants reap the profits of that "accursed traffic." But, sir, we will pass over all this. If slavery, as it now exists in this country, be an evil, we of the present day found it ready made to our hands. Finding our lot cast among a people whom God had manifestly committed to our care, we did not sit down to speculate on abstract questions of theoretical liberty. We met it as a practical

question of obligation and duty. We resolved to make the best of the situation in which Providence had placed us, and to fulfill the high trusts which had devolved upon us as the owners of slaves, in the only way in which such a trust could be fulfilled without spreading misery and ruin throughout the land. We found that we had to deal with a people whose physical, moral, and intellectual habits and character totally disqualified them for the enjoyment of the blessings of freedom. We could not send them back to the shores from whence their fathers had been taken; their numbers forbade the thought, even if we did not know that their condition here is infinitely preferable to what it possibly could be among the barren sands and savage tribes of Africa; and it was wholly irreconcilable with all our notions of humanity to tear asunder the tender ties which they had formed among us, to gratify the feelings of a false philanthropy. What a commentary on the wisdom, justice, and humanity of the Southern slaveholder is presented by the

example of certain benevolent associations and charitable individuals elsewhere! Shedding weak tears over sufferings which had existence in their own sickly imaginations, these "friends of humanity" set themselves systematically to work to seduce the slaves of the South from their masters. By means of missionaries and political tracts, the scheme was in a great measure successful. Thousands of these deluded victims of fanaticism were seduced into the enjoyment of freedom in our Northern cities, and what has been the consequence? Go to these cities now and ask the question. Visit the dark and narrow lanes, and obscure recesses, which have been assigned by common consent as the abodes of those outcasts of the world, the free people of color. Sir, there does not exist, on the face of the whole earth, a population so poor, so wretched, so vile, so loathsome, so utterly destitute of all the comforts, conveniences, and decencies of life as the unfortunate blacks of Philadelphia, New York, and Boston. Liberty has been to them the

greatest of calamities, the heaviest of curses. Sir, I have had some opportunities of making comparison between the condition of the free negroes of the North and the slaves of the South, and the comparison has left not only an indelible impression of the superior advantages of the latter, but has gone far to reconcile me to slavery itself. Never have I felt so forcibly that touching description, "the foxes have holes, and the birds of the air have nests, but the Son of man hath not where to lay his head," as when I have seen this unhappy race, naked and houseless, almost starving in the streets, and abandoned by all the world. Sir, I have seen in the neighborhood of one of the most moral, religious, and refined cities of the North a family of free blacks, driven to the caves of the rock, and there obtaining a precarious subsistence from charity and plunder.

When the gentleman from Massachusetts adopts and reiterates the old charge of weakness as resulting from slavery, I must be permitted to call for the proof of those

blighting effects which he ascribes to its influence. I suspect that when the subject is closely examined, it will be found that there is not much force even in the plausible objection of the want of physical power in slaveholding states. The power of a country is compounded of its population and its wealth, and in modern times, where, from the very form and structure of society, by far the greater portion of the people must, even during the continuance of the most desolating wars, be employed in the cultivation of the soil and other peaceful pursuits, it may be well doubted whether slaveholding states, by reason of the superior value of their productions, are not able to maintain a number of troops in the field fully equal to what could be supported by states with a larger white population but not possessed of equal resources.

It is a popular error to suppose that, in any possible state of things, the people of a country could ever be called out *en masse* or that a half, or a third, or even a fifth part of the physical force of any country

could ever be brought into the field. The difficulty is, not to procure men, but to provide the means of maintaining them; and in this view of the subject it may be asked whether the Southern states are not a source of strength and power, and not of weakness, to the country—whether they have not contributed, and are not now contributing, largely to the wealth and prosperity of every state in this Union. From a statement which I hold in my hand it appears that in ten years—from 1818 to 1827, inclusive—the whole amount of the domestic exports of the United States was \$521,811,045; of which three articles (the product of slave labor), viz., cotton, rice, and tobacco, amounted to \$339,203,232, equal to about two-thirds of the whole. It is not true, as has been supposed, that the advantage of this labor is confined almost exclusively to the Southern states. Sir, I am thoroughly convinced that, at this time, the states north of the Potomac actually derive greater profits from the labor of our slaves than we do ourselves. It appears

from our public documents that in seven years—from 1821 to 1827, inclusive—the six Southern states exported \$190,337,281 and imported only \$55,646,301. Now, the difference between these two sums (near \$140,000,000) passed through the hands of the Northern merchants, and enabled them to carry on their commercial operations with all the world. Such part of these goods as found its way back to our hands came charged with the duties, as well as the profits, of the merchant, the shipowner, and a host of others, who found employment in carrying on these immense exchanges; and for such part as was consumed at the North we received in exchange Northern manufactures, charged with an increased price, to cover all the taxes which the Northern consumer had been compelled to pay on the imported article. It will be seen, therefore, at a glance, how much slave labor has contributed to the wealth and prosperity of the United States, and how largely our Northern brethren have participated in the profits of that labor. Sir,

on this subject I will quote an authority which will, I doubt not, be considered by the Senator from Massachusetts as entitled to high respect. It is from the great Father of the "American System," honest Matthew Carey, no great friend, it is true, to Southern rights and Southern interests but not the worse authority on that account, on the point in question.

Speaking of the relative importance to the Union of the Southern and the Eastern states, Matthew Carey, in the sixth edition of his "Olive Branch" (p. 278), after exhibiting a number of statistical tables to show the decided superiority of the former, thus proceeds:

"But I am tired of this investigation—I sicken for the honor of the human species. What idea must the world form of the arrogance of the pretensions of the one side (the East), and of the folly and weakness of the rest of the Union, to have so long suffered them to pass without exposure and detection. The naked fact is that the demagogues in the Eastern states, not

satisfied with deriving all the benefits from the Southern section of the Union that they would from so many wealthy colonies—with making princely fortunes by the carriage and exportation of its bulky and valuable productions, and supplying it with their own manufactures and the productions of Europe and the East and West Indies, to an enormous amount, and at an immense profit—have uniformly treated it with outrage, insult, and injury; and, regardless of their vital interests, the Eastern states were lately courting their own destruction, by allowing a few restless, turbulent men to lead them blindfold to a separation which was pregnant with their certain ruin. Whenever that event takes place, they sink into insignificance. If a separation were desirable to any part of the Union, it would be to the Middle and Southern states, particularly the latter, who have been so long harassed with the complaints, the restlessness, the turbulence, and the ingratitude of the Eastern states that their patience has been tried almost

beyond endurance. 'Jeshurun waxed fat and kicked,'—and he will be severely punished for his kicking in the event of a dissolution of the Union."

Sir, I wish it to be distinctly understood that I do not adopt these sentiments as my own. I quote them to show that very different sentiments have prevailed in former times as to the weakness of the slaveholding states from those which now seem to have become fashionable in certain quarters. I know it has been supposed by certain ill-informed persons that the South exists only by the countenance and protection of the North. Sir, this is the idlest of all idle and ridiculous fancies that ever entered into the mind of man. In every state of this Union, except one, the free white population actually preponderates; and while in the British West India Islands (where the average white population is less than ten per cent. of the whole) the slaves are kept in entire subjection, it is preposterous to suppose that the Southern states could ever find the smallest difficulty in this

respect. On this subject, as in all others, we ask nothing of our Northern brethren but to "let us alone"; leave us to the undisturbed management of our domestic concerns, and the direction of our own industry, and we will ask no more. Sir, all our difficulties on this subject have arisen from interference from abroad, which has disturbed, and may again disturb, our domestic tranquility just so far as to bring down punishment upon the heads of the unfortunate victims of a fanatical and mistaken humanity.

There is a spirit which, like the father of evil, is constantly "walking to and fro about the earth, seeking whom it may devour"; it is the spirit of False Philanthropy. The persons whom it possesses do not indeed throw themselves into the flames, but they are employed in lighting up the torches of discord throughout the community. Their first principle of action is to leave their own affairs, and neglect their own duties, to regulate the affairs and duties of others. Theirs is the task to feed the hungry, and

clothe the naked, of other lands, while they thrust the naked, famished, and shivering beggar from their own doors; to instruct the heathen, while their own children want the bread of life. When this spirit infuses itself into the bosom of a statesman (if one so possessed can be called a statesman), it converts him at once into a visionary enthusiast. Then it is that he indulges in golden dreams of national greatness and prosperity. He discovers that "liberty is power," and not content with vast schemes of improvement at home (which it would bankrupt the treasury of the world to execute), he flies to foreign lands to fulfill obligations to "the human race" by inculcating the principles of "political and religious liberty," and promoting the "general welfare" of the whole human race. It is a spirit which has long been busy with the slaves of the South; and is even now displaying itself in vain efforts to drive the government from its wise policy in relation to the Indians. It is this spirit which has filled the land with thousands of wild and

visionary projects, which can have no effect but to waste the energies and dissipate the resources of the country. It is the spirit of which the aspiring politician dexterously avails himself when, by inscribing on his banner the magical words Liberty and Philanthropy, he draws to his support that class of persons who are ready to bow down at the very name of their idols.

But, sir, whatever difference of opinion may exist as to the effect of slavery on national wealth and prosperity, if we may trust to experience, there can be no doubt that it has never yet produced any injurious effect on individual or national character. Look through the whole history of the country, from the commencement of the Revolution down to the present hour; where are there to be found brighter examples of intellectual and moral greatness than have been exhibited by the sons of the South? From the Father of his country down to the distinguished chieftain who has been elevated by a grateful people to the highest office in their gift, the interval

is filled up by a long line of orators, of statesmen, and of heroes, justly entitled to rank among the ornaments of their country and the benefactors of mankind. Look at the "Old Dominion," great and magnanimous Virginia, "whose jewels are her sons." Is there any state in this Union which has contributed so much to the honor and welfare of the country? Sir, I will yield the whole question. I will acknowledge the fatal effects of slavery upon character, if any one can say that for noble disinterestedness, ardent love of country, exalted virtue, and a pure and holy devotion to liberty, the people of the Southern states have ever been surpassed by any in the world. I know, sir, that this devotion to liberty has sometimes been supposed to be at war with our institutions; but it is in some degree the result of those very institutions. Burke, the most philosophical of statesmen, as he was the most accomplished of orators, well understood the operation of this principle in elevating the sentiments and exalting the principles of the people in slave-holding

states. I will conclude my remarks on this branch of the subject by reading a few passages from his speech "on moving his resolutions for conciliation with the Colonies," the 22d of March, 1775:

"There is a circumstance attending the Southern Colonies which makes the spirit of liberty still more high and haughty than in those to the Northward. It is, that in Virginia and the Carolinas they have a vast multitude of slaves. Where this is the case, in any part of the world, those who are free are by far the most proud and jealous of their freedom. Freedom is to them not only an enjoyment, but a kind of rank and privilege. Not seeing there, as in countries where it is a common blessing, and as broad and general as the air, that it may be united with much abject toil, with great misery, with all the exterior of servitude, liberty looks among them like something more noble and liberal. I do not mean, sir, to commend the superior morality of this sentiment, which has, at least, as much pride as virtue in it; but I cannot alter

the nature of man. The fact is so; and these people of the Southern colonies are much more strongly, and with a higher and more stubborn spirit, attached to liberty than those to the northward. Such were all the ancient commonwealths—such were our Gothic ancestors—such, in our days, were the Poles—and such will be all masters of slaves who are not slaves themselves. In such a people, the haughtiness of domination combines with the spirit of freedom, fortifies it, and renders it invincible."

In the course of my former remarks, Mr. President, I took occasion to deprecate, as one of the greatest evils, *the consolidation of this government*. The gentleman takes alarm at the sound. "Consolidation," like the tariff, grates upon his ear. He tells us "we have heard much of late about consolidation; that it is the rallying-word of all who are endeavoring to weaken the Union, by adding to the power of the states." But consolidation (says the gentleman) was the very object for which the Union was formed; and, in support of that opinion,

he read a passage from the address of the President of the Convention to Congress, which he assumes to be an authority on his side of the question. But, sir, the gentleman is mistaken. The object of the framers of the Constitution, as disclosed in that address, was not the consolidation of the government, but "the consolidation of the Union." It was not to draw power from the states, in order to transfer it to a great national government, but, in the language of the Constitution itself, "to form a more perfect Union"; and by what means? By "establishing justice, promoting domestic tranquility, and securing the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity." This is the true reading of the Constitution. But, according to the gentleman's reading, the object of the Constitution was to consolidate the government, and the means would seem to be, the promotion of injustice, causing domestic discord, and depriving the states and the people of "the blessings of liberty" forever.

The gentleman boasts of belonging to the

party of National Republicans. National Republicans! A new name, sir, for a very old thing. The National Republicans of the present day were the Federalists of '98, who became Federal Republicans during the War of 1812, and were manufactured into National Republicans somewhere about the year 1825.

As a party (by whatever name distinguished) they have always been animated by the same principles, and have kept steadily in view a common object, *the consolidation of the government*. Sir, the party to which I am proud of having belonged, from the very commencement of my political life to the present day, were the Democrats of '98 (Anarchists, Anti-Federalists, Revolutionists, I think they were sometimes called). They assumed the name of Democratic Republicans in 1812,* and have retained their name and principles up to the present hour. True to their political faith,

*So given in the Madison copy and in the Hayne copy; not 1822 as in the Boston copy and in the Philadelphia copy printed from it.

they have always, as a party, been in favor of limitations of power; they have insisted that all powers not delegated to the federal government are reserved, and have been constantly struggling, as they now are, to preserve the rights of the states, and to prevent them from being drawn into the vortex, and swallowed up by one great consolidated government.

Sir, anyone acquainted with the history of parties in this country will recognize in the points now in dispute between the Senator from Massachusetts and myself the very grounds which have, from the beginning, divided the two great parties in this country, and which (call these parties by what names you will, and amalgamate them as you may) will divide them forever. The true distinction between those parties is laid down in a celebrated manifesto, issued by the convention of the Federalists of Massachusetts, assembled in Boston, in February, 1824, on the occasion of organizing a party opposition to the re-election of Governor Eustis. The gentleman will

recognize this as "the canonical book of political scripture"; and it instructs us that "when the American colonies redeemed themselves from British bondage, and became so many independent nations, they proposed to form a national union (not a federal union, sir, but a national union). Those who were in favor of a union of the states in this form became known by the name of Federalists; those who wanted no union of the states, or disliked the proposed form of union, became known by the name of Anti-Federalists. By means which need not be enumerated, the Anti-Federalists became (after the expiration of twelve years) our national rulers, and for a period of sixteen years, until the close of Mr. Madison's administration in 1817, continued to exercise the exclusive direction of our public affairs." Here, sir, is the true history of the origin, rise, and progress of the party of National Republicans, who date back to the very origin of the government, and who then, as now, chose to consider the Constitution as having created not a

federal but a national union; who regarded "consolidation" as no evil, and who doubtless consider it a "consummation devoutly to be wished" to build up a great "central government," "one and indivisible." Sir, there have existed in every age and every country two distinct orders of men—the lovers of freedom, and the devoted advocates of power.

The same great leading principles, modified only by the peculiarities of manners, habits, and institutions, divided parties in the ancient republics, animated the Whigs and Tories of Great Britain, distinguished in our own times the Liberals and Ultras of France, and may be traced even in the bloody struggles of unhappy Spain. Sir, when the gallant Riego, who devoted himself, and all that he possessed, to the liberties of his country, was dragged to the scaffold, followed by the tears and lamentations of every lover of freedom throughout the world, he perished amid the deafening cries of "Long live the absolute king!" The people whom I represent, Mr. Presi-

dent, are the descendants of those who brought with them to this country, as the most precious of their possessions, "an ardent love of liberty"; and while that shall be preserved, they will always be found manfully struggling against the consolidation of the government, *as the worst of evils.*

The Senator from Massachusetts, in alluding to the tariff, becomes quite facetious. He tells us that "he hears of nothing but tariff! tariff! tariff! and, if a word could be found to rhyme with it, he presumes it would be celebrated in verse and set to music." Sir, perhaps the gentleman, in mockery of our complaints, may be himself disposed to sing the praises of the tariff, in doggerel verse, to the tune of "Old Hundred." I am not at all surprised, however, at the aversion of the gentleman to the very name of tariff. I doubt not that it must always bring up some very unpleasant recollections to his mind. If I am not greatly mistaken, the Senator from Massachusetts was a leading actor at a great meeting got up in Boston in 1820 against the tariff. It has

generally been supposed that he drew up the resolutions adopted by that meeting, denouncing the tariff system as unequal, oppressive and unjust, and, if I am not much mistaken, denying its constitutionality. Certain it is that the gentleman made a speech on that occasion in support of those resolutions, denouncing the system in no very measured terms and, if my memory serves me, calling its constitutionality in question. I regret that I have not been able to lay my hands on those proceedings; but I have seen them, and cannot be mistaken in their character. At that time, sir, the Senator from Massachusetts entertained the very sentiments in relation to the tariff which the South now entertains. We next find the Senator from Massachusetts expressing his opinion on the tariff as a member of the House of Representatives from the city of Boston in 1824. On that occasion, sir, the gentleman assumed a position which commanded the respect and admiration of his country. He stood forth the powerful and fearless

champion of free trade. He met, in that conflict, the advocates of restriction and monopoly, and they "fled from before his face." With a profound sagacity, a fullness of knowledge and a richness of illustration that have never been surpassed, he maintained and established the principles of commercial freedom on a foundation never to be shaken. Great indeed was the victory achieved by the gentleman on that occasion; most striking the contrast between the clear, forcible, and convincing arguments by which he carried away the understandings of his hearers, and the narrow views and wretched sophistry of another distinguished orator, who may be truly said to have "held up his farthing candle to the sun."

Sir, the Senator from Massachusetts, on that the proudest day of his life, like a mighty giant, bore away upon his shoulders the pillars of the temple of error and delusion, escaping himself unhurt, and leaving his adversaries overwhelmed in its ruins. Then it was that he erected to free trade a

beautiful and enduring monument, and "inscribed the marble with his name." Mr. President, it is with pain and regret that I now go forward to the next great era in the political life of that gentleman, when he was found on this floor, supporting, advocating, and finally voting for the tariff of 1828—that "bill of abominations." By that act, sir, the Senator from Massachusetts has destroyed the labors of his whole life, and given a wound to the cause of free trade never to be healed. Sir, when I recollect the position which that gentleman once occupied, and that which he now holds in public estimation, in relation to this subject, it is not at all surprising that the tariff should be hateful to his ears. Sir, if I had erected to my own fame so proud a monument as that which the gentleman built up in 1824, and I could have been tempted to destroy it with my own hands, I should hate the voice that should ring "the accursed tariff" in my ears. I doubt not the gentleman feels very much, in relation to the tariff, as a certain knight did to

“instinct,” and with him would be disposed to exclaim,

“Ahl no more of that, Hal, an thou lovest me.”

But, Mr. President, to be more serious, what are we of the South to think of what we have heard this day? The Senator from Massachusetts tells us that the tariff is not an Eastern measure, and treats it as if the East had no interest in it. The Senator from Missouri insists it is not a Western measure, and that it has done no good to the West. The South comes in, and, in the most earnest manner, represents to you that this measure, which we are told “is of no value to the East or the West,” is “utterly destructive of our interests.” We represent to you that it has spread ruin and devastation through the land, and prostrated our hopes in the dust. We solemnly declare that we believe the system to be wholly unconstitutional, and a violation of the compact between the states and the Union; and our brethren turn a deaf ear to our complaints, and refuse to

relieve us from a system "which not enriches them, but makes us poor indeed." Good God! Mr. President, has it come to this? Do gentlemen hold the feelings and wishes of their brethren at so cheap a rate that they refuse to gratify them at so small a price? Do gentlemen value so lightly the peace and harmony of the country that they will not yield a measure of this description to the affectionate entreaties and earnest remonstrances of their friends? Do gentlemen estimate the value of the Union at so low a price that they will not even make one effort to bind the states together with the cords of affection? And has it come to this? Is this the spirit in which this government is to be administered? If so, let me tell gentlemen, the seeds of dissolution are already sown, and our children will reap the bitter fruit.

The honorable gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. Webster), while he exonerates me personally from the charge, intimates that there is a party in the country who are looking to disunion. Sir, if the gentleman

had stopped there, the accusation would have "passed by me like the idle wind, which I regard not." But when he goes on to give to his accusation "a local habitation and a name," by quoting the expression of a distinguished citizen of South Carolina (Dr. Cooper), "that it was time for the South to calculate the value of the Union," and in the language of the bitterest sarcasm, adds, "Surely then the Union cannot last longer than July, 1831," it is impossible to mistake either the allusion or the object of the gentleman. Now, Mr. President, I call upon every one who hears me to bear witness that this controversy is not of my seeking. The Senate will do me the justice to remember that, at the time his unprovoked and uncalled-for attack was made on the South, not one word had been uttered by me in disparagement of New England; nor had I made the most distant allusion either to the Senator from Massachusetts or the state he represents. But, sir, that gentleman has thought proper, for purposes best known to himself, to strike the

South, through me, the most unworthy of her servants. He has crossed the border, he has invaded the state of South Carolina, is making war upon her citizens, and endeavoring to overthrow her principles and her institutions. Sir, when the gentleman provokes me to such a conflict, I meet him at the threshold; I will struggle, while I have life, for our altars and our firesides, and, if God gives me strength, I will drive back the invaded discomfited. Nor shall I stop there. If the gentleman provokes the war, he shall have war. Sir, I will not stop at the border; I will carry the war into the enemy's territory, and not consent to lay down my arms until I have obtained "indemnity for the past and security for the future." It is with unfeigned reluctance, Mr. President, that I enter upon the performance of this part of my duty; I shrink almost instinctively from a course, however necessary, which may have a tendency to excite sectional feelings and sectional jealousies. But, sir, the task has been forced upon me; and I proceed right

onward to the performance of my duty. Be the consequences what they may, the responsibility is with those who have imposed upon me this necessity. The Senator from Massachusetts has thought proper to cast the first stone; and if he shall find, according to a homély adage, that "he lives in a glass house," on his head be the consequences. The gentleman has made a great flourish about his fidelity to Massachusetts. I shall make no professions of zeal for the interests and honor of South Carolina; of that my constituents shall judge. If there be one state in the Union, Mr. President, (and I say it not in a boastful spirit,) that may challenge comparison with any other, for a uniform, zealous, ardent, and uncalculating devotion to the Union, that state is South Carolina. Sir, from the very commencement of the Revolution up to this hour, there is no sacrifice, however great, she has not cheerfully made, no service she has ever hesitated to perform. She has adhered to you in your prosperity; but in your adversity she has clung to you with

more than filial affection. No matter what was the condition of her domestic affairs, though deprived of her resources, divided by parties, or surrounded with difficulties, the call of the country has been to her as the voice of God. Domestic discord ceased at the sound; every man became at once reconciled to his brethren, and the sons of Carolina were all seen crowding together to the temple, bringing their gifts to the altar of their common country.

What, sir, was the conduct of the South during the Revolution? Sir, I honor New England for her conduct in that glorious struggle. But great as is the praise which belongs to her, I think at least equal honor is due the South. They espoused the quarrel of their brethren with a generous zeal, which did not suffer them to stop to calculate their interest in the dispute. Favorites of the mother country, possessed of neither ships nor seamen to create a commercial rivalship, they might have found in their situation a guaranty that their trade would be forever fostered and protected by

Great Britain. But, trampling on all considerations either of interest or of safety, they rushed into the conflict, and, fighting for principle, periled all in the sacred cause of freedom. Never were there exhibited in the history of the world higher examples of noble daring, dreadful suffering, and heroic endurance than by the Whigs of Carolina during the Revolution. The whole state, from the mountains to the sea, was overrun by an overwhelming force of the enemy. The fruits of industry perished on the spot where they were produced, or were consumed by the foe. The "plains of Carolina" drank up the most precious blood of her citizens. Black and smoking ruins marked the places which had been the habitations of her children. Driven from their homes into the gloomy and almost impenetrable swamps, even there the spirit of liberty survived, and South Carolina (sustained by the example of her Sumters and her Marions) proved, by her conduct, that though her soil might be overrun, the spirit of her people was invincible.

But, sir, our country was soon called upon to engage in another revolutionary struggle, and that, too, was a struggle for principle. I mean the political revolution which dates back to '98, and which, if it had not been successfully achieved, would have left us none of the fruits of the Revolution of '76. The revolution of '98 restored the Constitution, rescued the liberty of the citizen from the grasp of those who were aiming at its life, and, in the emphatic language of Mr. Jefferson, "saved the Constitution at its last gasp." And by whom was it achieved? By the South, sir, aided only by the democracy of the North and West.

NOTE.—The editors regret that the space provided permits the inclusion of but two-thirds of this, Senator Hayne's most famous speech. It was thought best to give the first part entire, as it was impossible to select separate passages from the speech, owing to its logically sequent arrangement.

CHRONOLOGY

ROBERT TOOMBS was born at Washington, Wilkes County, Ga., June 2, 1810.

Entered the State University at Athens, and later Union College at Schenectady, N. Y., from which he was graduated in 1828. Studied law at the University of Virginia.

In 1836, served under General Winfield Scott in the war against the Creeks. 1837-40, member of the Georgia State Legislature.

1845-53, member of Congress from Georgia. 1850, supported the Compromise. 1853-61, United States Senator from Georgia.

1861, member of the Confederate Congress, and Secretary of State of the Confederacy. In 1862, appointed Brigadier-General, and served at the second battle of Bull Run, and at Antietam. In 1864, Brigadier-General in command of the Georgia Militia.

1865-67, lived abroad. 1867, returned and resumed the practice of law.

Died at Washington, Ga., December 15, 1885.

ROBERT TOOMBS

SPEECH ON THE SUBJECT OF SECESSION DELIVERED IN THE UNITED STATES
SENATE, JANUARY 7, 1861

MR. PRESIDENT AND SENATORS:

The success of the Abolitionists and their allies, under the name of the Republican party, has produced its logical results already. They have for long years been sowing dragons' teeth, and have finally got a crop of armed men. The Union, sir, is dissolved. That is an accomplished fact in the path of this discussion that men may as well heed. One of your confederates has already, wisely, bravely, boldly, confronted public danger, and she is only ahead of many of her sisters because of her greater facility for speedy action. The greater majority of those sister states, under like circumstances, consider her cause as their cause; and I charge you in their name today, "Touch not Saguntum." It is not

only their cause, but it is a cause which receives the sympathy and will receive the support of tens and hundreds of thousands of honest patriotic men in the non-slaveholding states, who have hitherto maintained constitutional rights, and who respect their oaths, abide by compacts, and love justice. And while this Congress, this Senate, and this House of Representatives, are debating the constitutionality and the expediency of seceding from the Union, and while the perfidious authors of this mischief are showering down denunciations upon a large portion of the patriotic men of this country, those brave men are coolly and calmly voting what you call revolution —ay, sir, doing better than that: arming to defend it. They appealed to the Constitution, they appealed to justice, they appealed to fraternity, until the Constitution, justice, and fraternity were no longer listened to in the legislative halls of their country, and then, sir, they prepared for the arbitrament of the sword; and now you see the glittering bayonet, and you hear

the tramp of armed men from your Capitol to the Rio Grande. It is a sight that gladdens the eyes and cheers the hearts of other millions ready to second them. Inasmuch, sir, as I have labored earnestly, honestly, sincerely, with these men to avert this necessity so long as I deemed it possible, and inasmuch as I heartily approve their present conduct of resistance, I deem it my duty to state their case to the Senate, to the country, and to the civilized world.

Senators, my countrymen have demanded no new government; they have demanded no new constitution. Look to their records at home and here from the beginning of this national strife until its consummation in the disruption of the empire, and they have not demanded a single thing except that you shall abide by the Constitution of the United States; that constitutional rights shall be respected, and that justice shall be done. Sirs, they have stood by your Constitution; they have stood by all its requirements; they have performed all its duties unselfishly, uncalculatingly, disinterestedly, until

a party sprang up in this country which endangered their social system—a party which they arraign, and which they charge before the American people and all mankind with having made proclamation of outlawry against four thousand millions of their property in the territories of the United States; with having put them under the ban of the empire in all the states in which their institutions exist, outside the protection of Federal laws; with having aided and abetted insurrection from within and invasion from without, with the view of subverting those institutions and desolating their homes and their firesides. For these causes they have taken up arms. I shall proceed to vindicate the justice of their demands, the patriotism of their conduct. I will show the injustice which they suffer and the rightfulness of their resistance.

I shall not spend much time on the question that seems to give my honorable friend (Mr. Crittenden) so much concern—the constitutional right of a state to secede

from this Union. Perhaps he will find out after a while that it is a fact accomplished. You have got it in the South pretty much both ways. South Carolina has given it to you regularly, according to the approved plan. You are getting it just below there (in Georgia), I believe, irregularly, outside of the law, without regular action. You can take it either way. You will find armed men to defend both. I have stated that the discontented states of this Union have demanded nothing but clear, distinct, unequivocal, well-acknowledged constitutional rights; rights affirmed by the highest judicial tribunals of their country; rights older than the Constitution; rights which are planted upon the immutable principles of natural justice; rights which have been affirmed by the good and the wise of all countries, and of all centuries. We demand no power to injure any man. We demand no right to injure our confederate states. We demand no right to interfere with their institutions, either by word or deed. We have no right to disturb their

peace, their tranquility, their security. We have demanded of them simply, solely—nothing else—to give us *equality, security, and tranquility*. Give us these, and peace restores itself. Refuse them, and take what you can get.

I will now read my own demands, acting under my own convictions, and the universal judgment of my countrymen. They are considered the demands of an extremist. To hold to a constitutional right now makes one considered as an extremist—I believe that is the appellation these traitors and villains, North and South, employ. I accept their reproach rather than their principles. Accepting their designation of treason and rebellion, there stands before them as good a traitor, and as good a rebel as ever descended from revolutionary loins.

What do the rebels demand? First, "that the people of the United States shall have an equal right to emigrate and settle in the present or any future acquired territories, with whatever property they may possess (including slaves), and be securely

protected in its peaceable enjoyment until such territory may be admitted as a state into the Union, with or without slavery, as she may determine, on an equality with all existing states." That is our territorial demand. We have fought for this territory when blood was its price. We have paid for it when gold was its price. We have not proposed to exclude you, though you have contributed very little of blood or money. I refer especially to New England. We demand only to go into those territories upon terms of equality with you, as equals in this great Confederacy, to enjoy the common property of the whole Union, and receive the protection of the common government, until the territory is capable of coming into the Union as a sovereign state, when it may fix its own institutions to suit itself.

The second proposition is, "that property in slaves shall be entitled to the same protection from the government of the United States, in all of its departments, everywhere, which the Constitution confers the power upon it to extend to any other property,

provided nothing herein contained shall be construed to limit or restrain the right now belonging to every state to prohibit, abolish, or establish and protect slavery within its limits." We demand of the common government to use its granted powers to protect our property as well as yours. For this protection we pay as much as you do. This very property is subject to taxation. It has been taxed by you and sold by you for taxes. The title to thousands and tens of thousands of slaves is derived from the United States. We claim that the government, while the Constitution recognizes our property for the purposes of taxation, shall give it the same protection that it gives yours. Ought it not to be so? You say no. Every one of you upon the committee said no. Your Senators say no. Your House of Representatives says no. Throughout the length and breadth of your conspiracy against the Constitution, there is but one shout of no! This recognition of this right is the price of my allegiance. Withhold it, and you do not get my obedi-

ence. This is the philosophy of the armed men who have sprung up in this country. Do you ask me to support a government that will tax my poverty; that will plunder me; that will demand my blood, and will not protect me? I would rather see the population of my native state laid six feet beneath her sod than they should support for one hour such a government. Protection is the prize of obedience everywhere, in all countries. It is the only thing that makes government respectable. Deny it and you cannot have free subjects or citizens; you may have slaves.

We demand, in the next place, "that persons committing crimes against slave property in one state, and fleeing to another, shall be delivered up in the same manner as persons committing crimes against other property, and that the laws of the state from which such persons flee shall be the test of criminality." That is another one of the demands of an extremist and rebel. The Constitution of the United States, article four, section two, says:

"A person charged in any state with treason, felony, or other crime, who shall flee from justice and be found in another state, shall, on demand of the executive authority of the state from which he fled, be delivered up to be removed to the state having jurisdiction of the crime." But the non-slave-holding states, treacherous to their oaths and compacts, have steadily refused, if the criminal only stole a negro, and that negro was a slave, to deliver him up. It was refused twice on the requisition of my own state as long as twenty-two years ago. It was refused by Kent and by Fairfield, governors of Maine, and representing, I believe, each of the then Federal parties. We appealed then to fraternity, but we submitted: and this constitutional right has been practically a dead letter from that day to this. The next case came up between us and the state of New York, when the present senior Senator (Mr. Seward) was the governor of that state; and he refused it. Why? He said it was not against the laws of New York to steal a

negro, and therefore he would not comply with the demand. He made a similar refusal to Virginia. Yet these are our confederates; these are our sister states! There is the bargain; there is the compact. You have sworn to it. Both these governors swore to it. The Senator from New York swore to it. The governor of Ohio swore to it when he was inaugurated. You cannot bind them by oaths. Yet they talk to us of treason; and I suppose they expect to whip freemen into loving such brethren! They will have a good time in doing it!

It is natural we should want this provision of the Constitution carried out. The Constitution says slaves are property; the Supreme Court says so; the Constitution says so. The theft of slaves is a crime; they are a subject-matter of felonious asportation. By the text and letter of the Constitution you agreed to give them up. You have sworn to do it, and you have broken your oaths. Of course, those who have done so look out for pretexts. Nobody expected them do otherwise. I do not

think I ever saw a perjurer, however bald and naked, who could not invent some pretext to palliate his crime, or who could not, for fifteen shillings, hire an Old Bailey lawyer to invent some for him. Yet this requirement of the Constitution is another one of the extreme demands of an extremist and a rebel.

The next stipulation is that fugitive slaves shall be surrendered under the provisions of the fugitive-slave act of 1850, without being entitled either to a writ of *habeas corpus*, or trial by jury, or other similar obstructions of legislation, in the state to which he may flee. Here is the Constitution:

“No person held to service or labor in one state, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.”

This language is plain, and everybody understood it the same way for the first

forty years of your government. In 1793, in Washington's time, an act was passed to carry out this provision. It was adopted unanimously in the Senate of the United States, and nearly so in the House of Representatives. Nobody then had invented pretexts to show that the Constitution did not mean a negro slave. It was clear; it was plain. Not only the Federal courts, but all the local courts in all the states, decide that this was a constitutional obligation. How is it now? The North sought to evade it; following the instincts of their natural character, they commenced with the fraudulent fiction that fugitives were entitled to *habeas corpus*, entitled to trial by jury in the state to which they fled. They pretended to believe that our fugitive slaves were entitled to more rights than their white citizens; perhaps they were right, they know one another better than I do. You may charge a white man with treason, or felony, or other crime, and you do not require any trial by jury before he is given up; there is

nothing to determine but that he is legally charged with a crime and that he fled, and then he is to be delivered up upon demand. White people are delivered up every day in this way; but not slaves. Slaves, black people, you say, are entitled to trial by jury; and in this way schemes have been invented to defeat your plain constitutional obligation. * * *

The next demand made on behalf of the South is, "that Congress shall pass effective laws for the punishment of all persons in any of the states who shall in any manner aid and abet invasion or insurrection in any other state, or commit any other act against the laws of nations, tending to disturb the tranquility of the people or government of any other state." That is a very plain principle. The Constitution of the United States now requires, and gives Congress express power, to define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas, and *offences against the laws of nations*. When the honorable and distinguished Senator from Illinois (Mr. Douglas) last

year introduced a bill for the purpose of punishing people thus offending under that clause of the Constitution, Mr. Lincoln, in his speech at New York, which I have before me, declared that it was a "sedition bill"; his press and party hooted at it. So far from recognizing the bill as intended to carry out the Constitution of the United States, it received their jeers and jibes. The Black Republicans of Massachusetts elected the admirer and eulogist of John Brown's courage as their governor, and we may suppose he will throw no impediments in the way of John Brown's successors. The epithet applied to the bill of the Senator from Illinois is quoted from a deliberate speech delivered by Lincoln in New York, for which, it was stated in the journals, according to some resolution passed by an association of his own party, he was paid a couple of hundred dollars. The speech should therefore have been deliberate. Lincoln denounced that bill. He places the stamp of his condemnation upon a measure intended to promote the peace

and security of confederate states. He is, therefore, an enemy of the human race, and deserves the execration of all mankind.

We demand these five propositions. Are they not right? Are they not just? Take them in detail, and show that they are not warranted by the Constitution, by the safety of our people, by the principles of eternal justice. We will pause and consider them; but mark me, we will not let you decide the question for us. * * *

Senators, the Constitution is a compact. It contains all our obligations and the duties of the Federal Government. I am content and have ever been content to sustain it. While I doubt its perfection, while I do not believe it was a good compact, and while I never saw the day that I would have voted for it as a proposition *de novo*, yet I am bound to it by oath and by that common prudence which would induce men to abide by established forms rather than to rush into unknown dangers. I have given to it, and intend to give to it, unfaltering support and allegiance, but I choose to

put that allegiance on the true ground, not on the false idea that anybody's blood was shed for it. I say that the Constitution is the whole compact. All the obligations, all the chains that fetter the limbs of my people, are nominated in the bond, and they wisely excluded any conclusion against them, by declaring that "the powers not granted by the Constitution to the United States, or forbidden by it to the states, belonged to the states respectively or the people." Now I will try it by that standard; I will subject it to that test. The law of nature, the law of justice, would say—and it is so expounded by the publicists—that equal rights in the common property shall be enjoyed. Even in a monarchy the king cannot prevent the subjects from enjoying equality in the disposition of the public property. Even in a despotic government this principle is recognized. It was the blood and the money of the whole people (says the learned Grotius, and say all the publicists) which acquired the public property, and therefore it is not the property

of the sovereign. This right of equality being, then, according to justice and natural equity, a right belonging to all states, when did we give it up? You say Congress has a right to pass rules and regulations concerning the territory and other property of the United States. Very well. Does that exclude those whose blood and money paid for it? Does "dispose of" mean to rob the rightful owners? You must show a better title than that, or a better sword than we have.

But, you say, try the right. I agree to it. But how? By our judgment? No, not until the last resort. What then; by yours? No, not until the same time. How then try it? The South has always said, by the Supreme Court. But that is in our favor, and Lincoln says he will not stand that judgment. Then each must judge for himself of the mode and manner of redress. But you deny us that privilege, and finally reduce us to accepting your judgment. The Senator from Kentucky comes to your aid, and says he can find no

constitutional right of secession. Perhaps not; but the Constitution is not the place to look for state rights. If that right belongs to independent states, and they did not cede it to the Federal Government, it is reserved to the states, or to the people. Ask your new commentator where he gets the right to judge for us. Is it in the bond?

The Northern doctrine was, many years ago, that the Supreme Court was the judge. That was their doctrine in 1800. They denounced Madison for the report of 1799, on the Virginia resolutions; they denounced Jefferson for framing the Kentucky resolutions, because they were presumed to impugn the decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States; and they declared that that court was made, by the Constitution, the ultimate and supreme arbiter. That was the universal judgment—the declaration of every free state in this Union, in answer to the Virginia resolutions of 1798, or of all who did answer, even including the state of Delaware, then under Federal control.

The Supreme Court have decided that, by the Constitution, we have a right to go to the territories and be protected there with our property. You say, we cannot decide the compact for ourselves. Well, can the Supreme Court decide it for us? Mr. Lincoln says he does not care what the Supreme Court decides, he will turn us out anyhow. He says this in his debate with the honorable member from Illinois [Mr. Douglas]. I have it before me. He said he would vote against the decision of the Supreme Court. Then you did not accept that arbiter. You will not take my construction; you will not take the Supreme Court as an arbiter; you will not take the practice of the government; you will not take the treaties under Jefferson and Madison; you will not take the opinion of Madison upon the very question of prohibition in 1820. What, then, will you take? You will take nothing but your own judgment; that is, you will not only judge for yourselves, not only discard the court, discard our construction, discard the practice

of the government, but you will drive us out, simply because you will it. Come and do it! You have sapped the foundations of society; you have destroyed almost all hope of peace. In a compact where there is no common arbiter, where the parties finally decide for themselves, the sword alone at last becomes the real, if not the constitutional arbiter. Your party says that you will not take the decision of the Supreme Court. You said so at Chicago; you said so in committee; every man of you in both Houses says so. What are you going to do? You say *we shall submit to your construction*. We shall do it, if you can make us; but not otherwise, or in any other manner. That is settled. You may call it secession, or you may call it revolution; but there is a big fact standing before you, ready to oppose you—that fact is, freemen with arms in their hands. The cry of the Union will not disperse them; we have passed that point; they demand equal rights; you had better heed the demand.



THOMAS HART BENTON

SPEECH DELIVERED IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES ON APRIL 25, 1854, THE HOUSE BEING IN COMMITTEE OF THE WHOLE ON THE STATE OF THE UNION

MR. CHAIRMAN:

If any bill to impair the Missouri compromise line of 1820 had been brought into this House by a member from a slave state, or under the administration of a President elected from a slave state, I should have deemed it my duty to have met it at the threshold, and to have made the motion which the parliamentary law prescribes for the repulse of subjects which are not fit to be considered; I should have moved its rejection at the first reading. But the bill before us—for the two may be considered as one—does not come from that quarter. It comes from a free state, and under the administration of a President elected from

a free state, and under that aspect of its origin, I deemed it right to wait, and hear what the members of the free states had to say to it. It was a proposition from their own ranks, to give up their half of the slavery compromise of 1820; and if they chose to do so, I did not see how Southern members could refuse to accept it. It was a free state question; and the members from the free states were the majority, and could do as they pleased. So I stood aloof, waiting to see their lead, but without the slightest intention of being governed by it. I had my own convictions of right and duty, and meant to act upon them. I had come into political life upon that compromise. I had stood upon it above thirty years, and intended to stand upon it to the end—solitary and alone, if need be; but preferring company to solitude, and not doubting for an instant what the result was to be.

* * * * *

The question before us is to get rid of the Missouri compromise line; and to a lawyer

that is an easy question. That compromise is in the form of a statute; and one statute is repealable by another. That short view is enough for a lawyer. To a statesman it is something different; and refers the question of its repeal, not to law books, but to reasons of state policy—to the circumstances under which it was enacted, and the consequences which are to flow from its abrogation. This compromise of 1820 is not a mere statute, to last for a day; it was intended for perpetuity, and so declared itself. It is an enactment to settle a controversy—and did settle it—and cannot be abrogated without reviving that controversy.

It has given the country peace for above thirty years; how many years of disturbance will its abrogation bring? That is the statesman's question; and without assuming to be much of a statesman, I claim to be enough so to consider the consequences of breaking a settlement which pacified a continent. I remember the Missouri controversy, and how it destroyed all social

feeling, and all capacity for beneficial legislation; and merged all political principle in an angry contest about slavery—dividing the Union into two parts, and drawing up the two halves into opposite and confronting lines, like enemies on the field of battle. I do not wish to see such times again; and, therefore, am against reviving them by breaking up the settlement which quieted them.

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I have stood upon the Missouri Compromise for above thirty years; and mean to stand upon it to the end of my life; and in doing so shall act, not only according to my own cherished convictions of duty, but according to the often-declared convictions of the General Assembly of my state. The inviolability of that compromise line has often been declared by that General Assembly; and as late as 1847, in these words:

"Resolved, That the peace, permanency, and welfare of our national Union depend upon a strict adherence to the letter and spirit of the eighth section of the act of Congress of the United States, entitled 'An act to authorize the people of the Missouri territory to

form a constitution and state government, and for the admission of such state into the Union on an equal footing with the original states, and to prohibit slavery in certain territories,' approved March 6, 1820'—

with an instruction to the Senators, and a request to the Representatives in Congress, to vote accordingly.

“The peace, permanency, and welfare of the Union depend upon a strict adherence to the Missouri compromise of 1820.” So resolved the General Assembly of Missouri as late as 1847. I believed the assembly was right then; I believe it now; and so believing, shall “adhere” to the compromise now, as then, “in spirit and in letter.”

I should oppose any movement to impair that compromise, made in an open, direct, manly manner: much more shall I oppose it if made in a covert, indirect, and unmanly way. The bill, or bills before us, undertake to accomplish their object without professing it—upon reasons which are contradictory and unfounded—in terms which are ambiguous and inconsistent—and by throwing on others the responsibility of its own act. It professes not to interfere

with the sovereign right of the people to legislate for themselves; and the very first line of this solemn profession throws upon them a horse-load of law, which they have no right to refuse, or time to read, or money to purchase, or ability to understand. It throws upon them all the laws of the United States which are not locally inapplicable; and that comprehends all that are not specially made for other places: also, it gives them the Constitution of the United States, but without the privilege of voting at presidential or congressional elections, or of making their own judiciary. This is non-interference with a vengeance. A community to be buried under a mountain of strange law, and covered with a constitution under which they are not to have one single political right. Why this circumlocution, this extension of a mountain of irrelevant law, with the exception of the only one relevant and applicable? Sir, it is the crooked, insidious, and pusillanimous way of effecting the repeal of the Missouri Compromise line. It includes all law for the

sake of leaving out one law; and effects a repeal by an omission, and legislates by an exception. It is a new way of repealing a law, and a bungling attempt to smuggle slavery into the territory, and all the country out to the Canada line and up the Rocky Mountains. The crooked line of this smuggling process is this: "Abolish the compromise line, and extend the Constitution over the country: the Constitution recognizes slavery: therefore, slavery is established as soon as the line is abolished, and the Constitution extended: and being put there by the Constitution, it cannot be legislated out." This is the English of this smuggling process; and certainly nothing more unworthy of legislation—more derogatory to a legislative body—was ever attempted to be made into law. Sir, the Constitution was not made for territories, but for states. Its provisions are all applicable to states, and cannot be put in operation in territories. They cannot vote for President or Vice-President, or members of Congress, nor elect their own officers, or

prescribe the qualifications of voters, or administer their own laws by their own judges, sheriffs, and attorneys; and the clause extending the Constitution to them is a cheat and an illusion, and a trick to smuggle slavery into the territory. Nor is it intended that they shall have any legislative right under the Constitution, even in relation to slavery. They may admit it because it is to be there by the Constitution; they cannot exclude it because the Constitution puts it there. That is the argument; and it is a juggle worthy of the trick of one egg under three hats at the same time—and under neither at any time. Besides, the Constitution is an organic, not an administrative, act. It is a code of principles, not of laws. Not a clause in it can be executed except by virtue of a law made under it—not even the clause for recovering fugitive slaves.

* * * * *

And what is all this hotch-potch for? It is to establish a principle, they say—the principle of non-intervention—of squatter

sovereignty. Sir, there is no such principle. The territories are the children of the states. They are minors under twenty-one years of age; and it is the business of the states, through their delegations in Congress, to take care of these minors until they are of age—until they are ripe for state government—then give them that government, and admit them to an equality with their fathers. That is the law, and the sense of the case; and has been so acknowledged since the first ordinance in 1784, by all authorities, federal and state, legislative, judicial, and executive. The states in Congress are the guardians of the territories, and are bound to exercise the guardianship; and cannot abdicate it without a breach of trust and a dereliction of duty. Territorial sovereignty is a monstrosity, born of timidity and ambition, hatched into existence in the hot incubation of a presidential canvass, and revolting to the beholders when first presented. Well do I remember that day when it was first shown in the Senate. Mark Antony did

not better remember the day when Caesar first put on that mantle through which he was afterward pierced with three-and-twenty "envious stabs." It was in the Senate in 1848, and was received as nonsense—as the essence of nonsense—as the quintessence of nonsense—as the five-times distilled essence of political nonsensicality. Why, sir, the territory itself is the property of the states, and they do what they please with it—permit it to be settled or not, as they please; cut it up by lines, as they please; sell it, or give it away, as they please; chase white people from it, as they please. After this farrago—this *olla-podrida*—comes a little stump speech, injected in the belly of the bill, and which must have a prodigious effect when recited in the prairies, and out toward the frontiers, and up toward the heads of the creeks. I will read it, and I hope without fatiguing the House; for it is both brief and beautiful, and runs thus:

"It being the true intent and meaning of this act not to legislate slavery into any state or territory, nor to

exclude it therefrom; but to leave the people thereof perfectly free to form and regulate their domestic institutions in their own way, subject only to the Constitution of the United States."

This is the speech, and a pretty little thing itself, and very proper to be spoken from a stump in the prairie. It has intent, and a true intent; which is neither to legislate slavery into, or out of any state or territory. Then why legislate at all? Why all this disturbance if no effect is produced, and things to remain just as they were? Let well enough alone, was the old doctrine; to make well enough still better, is the doctrine of progress; and that in spite of the Italian epitaph, which says: "I was well, and would be better; took physic, and here I am." But the states must be greatly delighted at the politeness and forbearance of this bill. It puts states and territories upon precisely equality with respect to the power of Congress over them. Congress does not mean to put slavery in or out of any state or territory. To all that polite abnegation, I have to say that, in respect of the states, it is the supererogation

of modesty and humility, as Congress happens to have no power to put slavery in them, or out of them; and in respect of the territories, it is an abdication of a constitutional power and duty; it being the right of Congress to legislate upon slavery in the territories, and its duty to do so when there is occasion for it—as in 1787 and 1820.

I object to this shilly-shally, willy-won'ty, don'ty-can'ty style of legislation. It is not legislative. It is not parliamentary. It is not manly. It is not womanly. No woman would talk that way. No shilly-shally in a woman. Nothing of the female gender was ever born young enough, or lived long enough to get befogged in such a quandary as this. It is one thing or the other with them; and what they say they stick to. No breaking bargains with them. But the end of this stump speech is the best of the whole. Different from good milk, in which the cream rises to the top, it here settles to the bottom, and is in these words:

"Leave it to the people thereof, that is to say, of the states and of the territories, to regulate slavery for

themselves as they please, only subject to the Constitution of the United States."

Certainly this is a new subjection for the states. Heretofore they have been free to regulate slavery for themselves—admit it, or reject it; and that not by virtue of any grant of power in the Constitution, but by virtue of an unsurrendered part of their old sovereignty. It is also new of the territories. Heretofore they have been held to be wards of Congress, and entitled to nothing under the Constitution but that which Congress extended to them. But this clause is not accidentally here; it is to keep up the dogma of the Constitution in territories; but only there in relation to slavery, and that for its admission—not rejection.

Three dogmas now afflict the land: *vide-licet*, squatter sovereignty, non-intervention, and no power in Congress to legislate upon slavery in territories. And this bill asserts the whole three, and beautifully illustrates the whole three, by knocking one on the head with the other, and trampling each under foot in its turn. Sir, the bill

does deny squatter sovereignty, and it does intervene, and it does legislate upon slavery in territories; and for the proof of that, see the bill; and see it, as the lawyers say, *passim*; that is to say, here, and there, and everywhere. It is a bill of assumptions and contradictions—assuming what is unfounded, and contradicting what it assumes—and balancing every affirmation by a negation. It is a see-saw bill; but not the innocent see-saw which children play on a plank stuck through a fence; but the up-and-down game of politicians, played at the expense of the peace and harmony of the Union, and to the sacrifice of all business in Congress. It is an amphibological bill, stuffed with monstrosities, hobbled with contradictions, and Badgered with a proviso.

Amphibology is a cause for the rejection of bills, not only by Congress, but by the President when carried to him for his approval. General Jackson rejected one for that cause, and it was less amphibological than this: it was the last night of the last

day of his last administration, and a quarter before midnight. Congress had sent him a bill to repeal the specie circular, and to inaugurate the paper money of a thousand local banks as the currency of the federal government. It was an object not to be avowed, nor to be done in any direct or palpable manner. Paraphrases, circumlocution, ambidexterity, and ambiguity, were necessary to cover up the design; and it was piled on until it was unintelligible. The President read it, and could make nothing of it; he sent to his attorney general, who was equally puzzled. He then returned it, with a message to the Senate, refusing to sign the bill for amphibology. We should reject this bill for the same cause, if for nothing else. Hard is the fate of party fealty. It has to keep up with the ever-changing measure. Often have these bills changed; and under every phase they had to be received as a test of orthodoxy; and have more changes to undergo yet; and to continue to be a test under all mutations.

And now, what is the object of this

movement, which so disturbs Congress and the country? What does it propose to accomplish? To settle a principle, is the answer—the principle of non-intervention, and the right of the people of the territory to decide the question of slavery for themselves. Sir, there is no such principle. The territories are the children of the states. They are minors, under age, and it is the business of the states, through their delegations in Congress, to take care of them until they are of age—until they are ripe for state government; then to give them that government, and admit them to an equality with their fathers. That is law, and has been so admitted since the first ordinance, in 1784. The states in Congress are the guardians of the territories, and are bound to exercise that guardianship, and cannot abdicate it without a breach of trust and a dereliction of duty. Why, sir, the territory itself is the property of the states, and they do with it what they please—permit it to be settled or not, as they please; cut it up by lines, as they please; sell or

give it away, as they please; chase white people from it, as they please. This has been always the case. There is a proclamation now extant of the old Congress of the Confederation, describing the first settlers in the Northwest territory as "disorderly persons"; and ordering them to be driven off by the military. I remember many such military expulsions in the early settlement of the Western country, often executed with severity; burning houses, cutting up corn, destroying fences, and driving off the people at the point of the bayonet, and under the edge of the sabre. As late as 1835-36, and after the extinction of the Indian title to the Platte country in Missouri, similar orders were given to the then colonel of dragoons commanding on that frontier, the now Senator in Congress, Henry Dodge, to expel the people from that purchase; orders which he executed in gentleness and mercy, going alone, explaining his business, and requiring them to go away; which they did, like good and orderly people; and when he was gone, came back like sensible and industrious

people, and secured their pre-emptions. Not only settled, but organized territory, has been so treated by the federal government, and worse; the people driven off and their homes given away. This happened in Arkansas in 1828, when twelve thousand square miles of her organized territory was given to the Cherokees, and the people driven away. Why, sir, this very line of $36^{\circ} 30'$, with all the territory on one side of it, and two degrees on the other side, were given away to the King of Spain. This has been the seventy years' practice of the government—to treat the territories as property, and the people as uninvited guests, to be entertained, or turned out, as the owner of the House chooses. Fine sovereigns these! chased off by the military, and their homes given to Indians or Spaniards. The whole idea of this sovereignty is a novelty, scouted from Congress when it first appeared in the Senate, contradicted by the Constitution, and the whole action of the government, in all time; and contradicted by the bill itself, which is to secure it. The

provisions of the bill are a burlesque upon sovereignty. It gives to the people instead of receiving from them an organic act. And what an organic act! One in which they are denied every attribute of sovereignty. Denied freedom of elections; denied freedom of voting; denied choice of their own laws; denied the right of fixing the qualifications of voters; subjected to a foreign supervision; and controllable by the federal government, which they have no hand in electing; and only allowed to admit, and not to reject slavery. Their sovereignty only extends to the subject of slavery, and only to one side of that—the admitting side; the other half of the power being held to be denied by the Constitution which is extended over them, and which, (according to the reading of the supporters of this bill), forbids any law to be made which will prevent any citizen from going there with his slaves. This is squatter sovereignty, non-intervention, and no power to legislate in territories upon slavery. And this is called a principle—the principle

of non-intervention—letting the people alone to settle the question of slavery for themselves. How settle it? That can only be done in an organic act; and they have no such act, nor can have one till they make a constitution for a state government. All the rest is legislation, which settles nothing and produces contention at every election. Sir, this principle of non-intervention is but the principle of contention—a bone given to the people to quarrel and fight over at every election, and at every meeting of their legislature, until they become a state government. Then, and then only, can they settle the question.

For seventy years—since the year 1784, when the organizing mind of Jefferson drew the first territorial ordinance—we had a uniform method of providing for the government of territories, all founded upon the clause in the Constitution which authorizes Congress to dispose of, and make rules and regulations respecting the territory and other property of the United States. This mode of government has consisted of three

grades, all founded in the right of Congress to govern them. First grade: a governor and judges, appointed by the United States, to adopt laws from other states, to be in force until disapproved by Congress. Second grade: a territorial legislature, when the inhabitants shall amount to five thousand men above the age of twenty-one, composed of a council partly appointed by the United States, and a House of Representatives elected by the people, at the rate of one representative for every five hundred voters, its legislation subject to the approval of Congress. Third grade: entrance on the state government, in full equality with the other states. This is the way these territories have been governed for seventy years; and I am for adhering to it.

And now what is the excuse for all this disturbance of the country; this breaking up of ancient compromises; arraying one half of the Union against the other, and destroying the temper and business of Congress? What is the excuse for all this turmoil and mischief? We are told it is to

keep the question of slavery out of Congress! To keep slavery out of Congress! Great God! It was out of Congress! completely, entirely, and forever out of Congress, unless Congress dragged it in by breaking down the sacred laws which settled it. The question was settled, and done with. There was not an inch square of territory in the Union on which it could be raised without a breach of a compromise. The ordinance of '89 settled it in all the remaining part of the Northwest territory beyond Wisconsin: the compromise line of $36^{\circ} 30'$ settled it in all country north and west of Missouri to the British line, and up to the Rocky Mountains: the organic act of Oregon, made by the people, and sanctioned by Congress, settled it in all that region: the acts for the government of Utah and New Mexico settled it in those two territories: the compact with Texas, determining the number of slave states to be formed out of that state, settled it there: and California settled it for herself. Now, where was there an inch square of territory within the United

States on which the question could be raised? Nowhere! Not an inch! The question was settled everywhere, not merely by law, but by fact. The work was done, and there was no way to get at the question but by undoing the work! No way for Congress to get the question in, for the purpose of keeping it out, but to break down compromises which kept it out.

What advantage do the slave states expect from this bill? Certainly they expect the extension of slave power, and slave population. That may prove a fallacious expectation. The question of slavery in these territories, if thrown open to territorial action, will be a question of numbers—a question of the majority for or against slavery: and what chance would the slave-holders have in such a contest? No chance at all. The slave emigrants will be outnumbered, and compelled to play at a most unequal game, not only in point of numbers, but also in point of stakes. The slave-holder stakes his property; and has to run it off, or lose it, if outvoted at the polls.

I see nothing which slaveholders are to gain under this bill—nothing but an unequal and vexatious contest, in which they are to be losers. I deprecate such a contest and did my part to keep it out of the state of Missouri when her constitution was formed. I was not a member of the convention, but was a chief promoter of the clause which forbid the legislature to emancipate slaves without the consent of their owners. I promoted that clause for the sake of peace—for the sake of keeping the slavery question out of our elections and legislation—for the sake of preventing perpetual strife among the people. What I did for Missouri, I would do for the territories; and if it was an open question would vote one way or the other to settle it; but it is not an open question! and cannot be opened without a breach of faith, and the destruction of the peace of the country.

Sir, the question has been decided. The free states are against this bill; and it is an ill return for their past generous conduct to endeavor to force it upon them. They have

been not only just, but magnanimous, to the slave states. What was the condition of the slave states thirty years ago in relation to the use of the soil within their limits? Debarred of a great part of its use: an Indian population covering more or less of almost every slave state, and preventing the expansion of its population. What is it now? All relieved. The Indians all gone: their lands all brought under the dominion of the white man: and the area of slave population, and of slave cultivation, greatly increased—to the extent of a third or a fourth of its soil in some of the states. How was this done? Certainly by the help of free state votes, (for it could not have been done without them); by the help of their votes in procuring the appropriations, and ratifying the treaties which the removal of the Indians required. Missouri got her fine southwest quarter relieved by these means. The same votes gave us the Platte country; seven fine counties added to the state! and that by altering the compromise line to include it, and actually converting that fine

region from free soil to slave soil. Northern votes enabled it to be done: Northern votes altered above an hundred miles of the compromise line for our benefit, upon our request; and I will never be ungrateful to the North for it, nor requite it by a breach of the line to their prejudice. And how did you obtain the Northern votes which were necessary for all these measures—the appropriations and treaties for all these Indian removals, and for that alteration of the compromise line which gave us the beautiful Platte country? How did the Missouri delegation of that day—the most amiable and talented Dr. Linn and myself, in the Senate, and General Ashley, in the House—how did we obtain that great boon for our state? Did we get these votes by belching abolitionism against the North? No! no! we got them by appealing to the justice, and the fraternal feelings of our Northern brethren, and to which we never appealed once in vain—who, in the last hard trial to get the Cherokees out of Georgia, gave us fourteen affirmative votes to balance

seven negatives from the South, and saved the treaty by one vote. And I, who was part of all these transactions, accustomed to solicit Northern votes, and express thanks for them, will not now return them evil for good by attempting to deprive them of their share of a compromise which we imposed upon them.

It is now four months since this movement for the abrogation of the Missouri Compromise commenced in this Congress. It began without a memorial, without a petition, without a request, from a human being. It has labored long and hard in these Halls, and to this hour there is not a petition for it from the class of states for whose benefit the movement professes to have been made!—not a word in its favor from the smallest public meeting or private assemblage of any slave state. This is the response of the South to this boon tendered to it by Northern members under a Northern President. It is the response of silence—more emphatic than words—and worthy of especial note in this debate. It argues well

for the harmony of the Union, and goes to show (what in fact has been often seen) that the troubles of the country come from uneasy politicians—its safety from the tranquil masses.



CHRONOLOGY

HENRY WOODFIN GRADY was born at Athens, Georgia, May 24, 1851.

Was educated at the University of Georgia, from which he was graduated in 1868. Afterward attended the University of Virginia.

Began work as a journalist in a series of letters on the resources of his native state. In a short time took charge of the *Courier* in Rome. Owing to restrictions placed on his writing by the publisher of the *Courier*, he left that paper and purchased the two other papers in Rome, the *Daily* and the *Commercial*.

Mr. Grady had little business ability, and from this standpoint these papers failed. The same was true in reference to the *Herald* of Atlanta, which he subsequently bought.

In totally reduced circumstances, he came to New York, and sought a connection with the *New York Herald*, which he obtained, and for some time thereafter he acted as Southern correspondent of that paper.

In 1880 he purchased an interest in the *Atlanta Constitution*, which he edited until his death.

Died at Atlanta December 23, 1889.



HENRY WOODFIN GRADY

HENRY WOODFIN GRADY

THE NEW SOUTH

On December 21st, 1886, Mr. Grady, in response to an urgent invitation, delivered the following address at the banquet of the New England Society, New York:

“There was a South of slavery and secession—that South is dead. There is a South of union and freedom—that South, thank God, is living, breathing, growing every hour.” These words, delivered from the immortal lips of Benjamin H. Hill, at Tammany Hall, in 1866, true then and truer now, I shall make my text tonight.

Mr. President and Gentlemen: Let me express to you my appreciation of the kindness by which I am permitted to address you. I make this abrupt acknowledgment advisedly, for I feel that if, when I raise my provincial voice in this ancient and august presence, it could find courage for no more than the opening sentence, it would be well if in that sentence I had met in a rough sense my obligation as a guest,

and had perished, so to speak, with courtesy on my lips and grace in my heart.

Permitted, through your kindness, to catch my second wind, let me say that I appreciate the significance of being the first Southerner to speak at this board, which bears the substance, if it surpasses the semblance, of original New England hospitality—and honors the sentiment that in turn honors you, but in which my personality is lost, and the compliment to my people made plain.

I bespeak the utmost stretch of your courtesy tonight. I am not troubled about those from whom I come. You remember the man whose wife sent him to a neighbor with a pitcher of milk, and who, tripping on the top step, fell with such casual interruptions as the landings afforded into the basement, and, while picking himself up, had the pleasure of hearing his wife call out: "John, did you break the pitcher?"

"No, I didn't," said John, "but I'll be dinged if I don't."

So, while those who call me from behind

may inspire me with energy, if not with courage, I ask an indulgent hearing from you. I beg that you will bring your full faith in American fairness and frankness to judgment upon what I shall say. There was an old preacher once who told some boys of the Bible lesson he was going to read in the morning. The boys, finding the place, glued together the connecting pages. The next morning he read on the bottom of one page, "When Noah was one hundred and twenty years old he took unto himself a wife, who was"—then turning the page—"140 cubits long—40 cubits wide, built of gopher wood—and covered with pitch inside and out." He was naturally puzzled at this. He read it again, verified it, and then said: "My friends, this is the first time I ever met this in the Bible, but I accept this as an evidence of the assertion that we are fearfully and wonderfully made." If I could get you to hold such faith tonight I could proceed cheerfully to the task I otherwise approach with a sense of consecration.

Pardon me one word, Mr. President, spoken for the sole purpose of getting into the volumes that go out annually freighted with the rich eloquence of your speakers—the fact that the Cavalier as well as the Puritan was on the continent in its early days, and that he was “up and able to be about.” I have read your books carefully and I find no mention of the fact, which seems to me an important one for preserving a sort of historical equilibrium, if for nothing else.

Let me remind you that the Virginia Cavalier first challenged France on the continent—that Cavalier, John Smith, gave New England its very name, and was so pleased with the job that he has been handing his own name around ever since—and that while Myles Standish was cutting off men’s ears for courting a girl without her parents’ consent, and forbade men to kiss their wives on Sunday, the Cavalier was courting everything in sight, and that the Almighty had vouchsafed great increase to the Cavalier colonies, the huts in the

wilderness being as full as the nests in the woods.

But having incorporated the Cavalier as a fact in your charming little books, I shall let him work out his own salvation, as he has always done, with engaging gallantry, and we will hold no controversy as to his merits. Why should we? Neither Puritan nor Cavalier long survived as such. The virtues and good traditions of both happily still live for the inspiration of their sons and the saving of the old fashion. But both Puritan and Cavalier were lost in the storm of the first Revolution, and the American citizen, supplanting both and stronger than either, took possession of the republic bought by their common blood and fashioned to wisdom, and charged himself with teaching men government and establishing the voice of the people as the voice of God.

My friends, Dr. Talmage has told you that the typical American has yet to come. Let me tell you that he has already come. Great types, like valuable plants, are slow

to flower and fruit. But from the union of these colonists, Puritans and Cavaliers, from the straightening of their purposes and the crossing of their blood, slow perfecting through a century, came he who stands as the first typical American, the first who comprehended within himself all the strength and gentleness, all the majesty and grace of this republic—Abraham Lincoln. He was the sum of Puritan and Cavalier, for in his ardent nature were fused the virtues of both, and in the depths of his great soul the faults of both were lost. He was greater than Puritan, greater than Cavalier, in that he was American, and that in his honest form were first gathered the vast and thrilling forces of his ideal government—charging it with such tremendous meaning and elevating it above human suffering that martyrdom, though infamously aimed, came as a fitting crown to a life consecrated from the cradle to human liberty. Let us, each cherishing the traditions and honoring his fathers, build with reverent hands to the type of

this simple but sublime life, in which all types are honored, and in our common glory as Americans, there will be plenty and to spare for your forefathers and for mine.

Dr. Talmage has drawn for you, with a master's hand, the picture of your returning armies. He has told you how, in the pomp and circumstance of war, they came back to you, marching with proud and victorious tread, reading their glory in a nation's eyes! Will you bear with me while I tell you of another army that sought its home at the close of the late war—an army that marched home in defeat and not in victory—in pathos and not in splendor, but in glory that equaled yours, and to hearts as loving as ever welcomed heroes home!

Let me picture to you the footsore Confederate soldier, as, buttoning up in his faded gray jacket the parole which was to bear testimony to his children of his fidelity and faith, he turned his face southward from Appomattox in April, 1865. Think of him as, ragged, half-starved, heavy-hearted, enfeebled by want and wounds, having

fought to exhaustion, he surrenders his gun, wrings the hands of his comrades in silence, and lifting his tear-stained and pallid face for the last time to the graves that dot old Virginia hills, pulls his gray cap over his brow and begins the slow and painful journey.

What does he find—let me ask you who went to your homes eager to find, in the welcome you had justly earned, full payment for four years' sacrifice—what does he find when, having followed the battle-stained cross against overwhelming odds, dreading death not half so much as surrender, he reaches the home he left so prosperous and beautiful? He finds his house in ruins, his farm devastated, his slaves free, his stock killed, his barns empty, his trade destroyed, his money worthless, his social system, feudal in its magnificence, swept away; his people without law or legal status; his comrades slain, and the burdens of others heavy on his shoulders. Crushed by defeat, his very traditions are gone. Without money, credit, employment, material, or training; and besides

all this, confronted with the gravest problem that ever met human intelligence—the establishment of a status for the vast body of his liberated slaves.

What does he do—this hero in gray with a heart of gold? Does he sit down in sullenness and despair? Not for a day. Surely God, who had stripped him of his prosperity, inspired him in his adversity. As ruin was never before so overwhelming, never was restoration swifter.

The soldier stepped from the trenches into the furrow; horses that had charged Federal guns marched before the plow, and fields that ran red with human blood in April were green with the harvest in June; women reared in luxury cut up their dresses and made breeches for their husbands, and, with a patience and heroism that fit women always as a garment, gave their hands to work. There was little bitterness in all this. Cheerfulness and frankness prevailed. "Bill Arp" struck the keynote when he said: "Well, I killed as many of them as they did of me, and now

I'm going to work." So did the soldier returning home after defeat and roasting some corn on the roadside who made the remark to his comrades: "You may leave the South if you want to, but I'm going to Sandersville, kiss my wife and raise a crop, and if the Yankees fool with me any more, I'll whip 'em again."

I want to say to General Sherman, who is considered an able man in our parts, though some people think he is a kind of careless man about fire, that from the ashes he left us in 1864 we have raised a brave and beautiful city; that somehow or other we have caught the sunshine in the bricks and mortar of our homes, and have builded therein not one ignoble prejudice or memory.

But what is the sum of our work? We have found out that in the summing up the free negro counts more than he did as a slave. We have planted the schoolhouse on the hilltop and made it free to white and black. We have sowed towns and cities in the place of theories, and put business above

politics. We have challenged your spinners in Massachusetts and your ironmakers in Pennsylvania. We have learned that the \$400,000,000 annually received from our cotton crop will make us rich when the supplies that make it are home-raised. We have reduced the commercial rate of interest from 24 to 6 per cent., and are floating 4 per cent. bonds. We have learned that one Northern immigrant is worth fifty foreigners and have smoothed the path to Southward, wiped out the place where Mason and Dixon's line used to be, and hung out the latchstring to you and yours.

We have reached the point that marks perfect harmony in every household, when the husband confesses that the pies which his wife cooks are as good as those his mother used to bake; and we admit that the sun shines as brightly and the moon as softly as it did before the war. We have established thrift in city and country. We have fallen in love with work. We have restored comfort to homes from which

culture and elegance never departed. We have let economy take root and spread among us as rank as the crab-grass which sprung from Sherman's cavalry camps, until we are ready to lay odds on the Georgia Yankee as he manufactures relics of the battlefield in a one-story shanty and squeezes pure olive-oil out of his cotton-seed, against any down-easter that ever swapped wooden nutmegs for flannel sausage in the valleys of Vermont. Above all, we know that we have achieved in these "piping times of peace" a fuller independence for the South than that which our fathers sought to win in the forum by their eloquence or compel in the field by their swords.

It is a rare privilege, sir, to have had part, however humble, in this work. Never was nobler duty confided to human hands than the uplifting and upbuilding of the prostrate and bleeding South—misguided, perhaps, but beautiful in her suffering, and honest, brave, and generous always. In the record of her social, industrial, and political

illustration we await with confidence the verdict of the world.

But what of the negro? Have we solved the problem he presents or progressed in honor and equity toward solution? Let the record speak to the point. No section shows a more prosperous laboring population than the negroes of the South, none in fuller sympathy with the employing and land-owning class. He shares our school fund, has the fullest protection of our laws and the friendship of our people. Self-interest, as well as honor, demand that he should have this. Our future, our very existence depend upon our working out this problem in full and exact justice. We understand that when Lincoln signed the emancipation proclamation, your victory was assured, for he then committed you to the cause of human liberty, against which the arms of man cannot prevail—while those of our statesmen who trusted to make slavery the cornerstone of the Confederacy doomed us to defeat as far as they could, committing us to a cause that reason

could not defend or the sword maintain in sight of advancing civilization.

Had Mr. Toombs said, which he did not say, "that he would call the roll of his slaves at the foot of Bunker Hill," he would have been foolish, for he might have known that whenever slavery became entangled in war it must perish, and that the chattel in human flesh ended forever in New England when your fathers—not to be blamed for parting with what didn't pay—sold their slaves to our fathers—not to be praised for knowing a paying thing when they saw it. The relations of the Southern people with the negro are close and cordial. We remember with what fidelity for four years he guarded our defenseless women and children, whose husbands and fathers were fighting against his freedom. To his eternal credit be it said that whenever he struck a blow for his own liberty he fought in open battle, and when at last he raised his black and humble hands that the shackles might be struck off, those hands were innocent of wrong against his helpless

charges, and worthy to be taken in loving grasp by every man who honors loyalty and devotion. Ruffians have maltreated him, rascals have misled him, philanthropists established a bank for him, but the South, with the North, protests against injustice to this simple and sincere people.

To liberty and enfranchisement is as far as law can carry the negro. The rest must be left to conscience and common sense. It must be left to those among whom his lot is cast, with whom he is indissolubly connected, and whose prosperity depends upon their possessing his intelligent sympathy and confidence. Faith has been kept with him, in spite of calumnious assertions to the contrary by those who assume to speak for us or by frank opponents. Faith will be kept with him in the future, if the South holds her reason and integrity.

But have we kept faith with you? In the fullest sense, yes. When Lee surrendered—I don't say when Johnston surrendered, because I understand he still alludes to the time when he met General

Sherman last as the time when he determined to abandon any further prosecution of the struggle—when Lee surrendered, I say, and Johnston quit, the South became and has since been, loyal to this Union. We fought hard enough to know that we were whipped, and in perfect frankness accept as final the arbitrament of the sword to which we had appealed. The South found her jewel in the toad's head of defeat. The shackles that had held her in narrow limitations fell forever when the shackles of the negro slave were broken. Under the old regime the negroes were slaves to the South; the South was a slave to the system. The old plantation, with its simple police regulations and feudal habit, was the only type possible under slavery. Thus was gathered in the hands of a splendid and chivalric oligarchy the substance that should have been diffused among the people, as the rich blood, under certain artificial conditions, is gathered at the heart, filling that with affluent rapture, but leaving the body chill and colorless.

The old South rested everything on slavery and agriculture, unconscious that these could neither give nor maintain healthy growth. The new South presents a perfect democracy, the oligarchs leading in the popular movement—a social system compact and closely knitted, less splendid on the surface, but stronger at the core—a hundred farms for every plantation, fifty homes for every palace—and a diversified industry that meets the complex needs of this complex age.

The new South is enamored of her new work. Her soul is stirred with the breath of a new life. The light of a grander day is falling fair on her face. She is thrilling with the consciousness of growing power and prosperity. As she stands upright, full-statured and equal among the people of the earth, breathing the keen air and looking out upon the expanded horizon, she understands that her emancipation came because through the inscrutable wisdom of God her honest purpose was crossed, and her brave armies were beaten.

This is said in no spirit of time-serving or apology. The South has nothing for which to apologize. She believes that the late struggle between the States was war and not rebellion; revolution and not conspiracy, and that her convictions were as honest as yours. I should be unjust to the dauntless spirit of the South and to my own convictions if I did not make this plain in this presence. The South has nothing to take back.

In my native town of Athens is a monument that crowns its central hill—a plain, white shaft. Deep cut into its shining side is a name dear to me above the names of men—that of a brave and simple man who died in brave and simple faith. Not for all the glories of New England, from Plymouth Rock all the way, would I exchange the heritage he left me in his soldier's death. To the foot of that I shall send my children's children to reverence him who ennobled their name with his heroic blood. But, sir, speaking from the shadow of that memory which I honor as I do nothing else

on earth, I say that the cause in which he suffered and for which he gave his life was adjudged by higher and fuller wisdom than his or mine, and I am glad that the omniscient God held the balance of battle in His Almighty hand and that human slavery was swept forever from American soil—that the American Union was saved from the wreck of war.

This message, Mr. President, comes to you from consecrated ground. Every foot of soil about the city in which I live is sacred as a battle-ground of the republic. Every hill that invests it is hallowed to you by the blood of your brothers who died for your victory, and doubly hallowed to us by the blood of those who died hopeless, but undaunted, in defeat—sacred soil to all of us—rich with memories that make us purer and stronger and better—silent but staunch witnesses in its red desolation of the matchless valor of American hearts and the deathless glory of American arms—speaking an eloquent witness in its white peace and prosperity to the indissoluble

union of American States and the imperishable brotherhood of the American people.

Now, what answer has New England to this message? Will she permit the prejudice of war to remain in the hearts of the conquerors, when it has died in the hearts of the conquered? Will she transmit this prejudice to the next generation, that in their hearts, which never felt the generous ardor of conflict, it may perpetuate itself? Will she withhold, save in strained courtesy, the hand which straight from his soldier's heart Grant offered to Lee at Appomattox? Will she make the vision of a restored and happy people, which gathered above the couch of your dying captain, filling his heart with grace, touching his lips with praise, and glorifying his path to the grave—will she make this vision, on which the last sigh of his expiring soul breathed a benediction, a cheat and delusion?

If she does, the South, never abject in asking for comradeship, must accept with dignity its refusal; but if she does not refuse to accept in frankness and sincerity this

message of good will and friendship, then will the prophecy of Webster, delivered in this very society forty years ago amid tremendous applause, become true, be verified in its fullest sense, when he said: "Standing hand to hand and clasping hands, we should remain united as we have been for sixty years, citizens of the same country, members of the same government, united all, united now and united forever." There have been difficulties, contentions and controversies, but I tell you that in my judgment,

"Those opened eyes,
Which like the meteors of a troubled heaven,
All of one nature, of one substance bred,
Did lately meet in th' intestine shock,
Shall now, in mutual well beseeming ranks,
March all one way."

HENRY WOODFIN GRADY

AN ADDRESS ON THE SOUTH AND HER
PROBLEMS, DELIVERED AT THE DALLAS
(TEXAS) STATE FAIR, OCTOBER 26, 1887

“Who saves his country, saves all things,
and all things saved will bless him. Who
lets his country die, lets all things die, and
all things dying curse him.”

These words are graven on the statue of
Benjamin H. Hill in the city of Atlanta,
and in their spirit I shall speak to you
today.

Mr. President and Fellow-Citizens: I
salute the first city of the grandest State
of the greatest government on this earth.
In paying earnest compliment to this
thriving city and this generous multitude,
I need not cumber speech with argument
or statistics. It is enough to say that my
friends and myself make obeisance this
morning to the chief metropolis of the State
of Texas. If it but holds this pre-eminence
—and who can doubt in this auspicious

presence that it will—the uprising tides of Texas' prosperity will carry it to glories unspeakable. For I say in soberness, the future of this marvelous and amazing empire, that gives broader and deeper significance to statehood by accepting its modest naming, the mind of man can neither measure nor comprehend.

I shall be pardoned for resisting the inspiration of this presence and adhering to-day to blunt and vigorous speech—for there are times when fine words are paltry, and this seems to me to be such a time. So I shall turn away from the thunders of the political battle upon which every American hangs intent, and repress the ardor that at this time rises in every American heart—for there are issues that strike deeper than any political theory has reached, and conditions of which partisanship has taken, and can take, but little account. Let me, therefore, with studied plainness, and with such precision as is possible—in a spirit of fraternity that is broader than party limitations, and deeper than political motives—

discuss with you certain problems upon the wise and prompt solution of which depend the glory and prosperity of the South.

But why—for let us make our way slowly—why “the South.” In an indivisible union—in a republic against the integrity of which sword shall never be drawn or mortal hand uplifted, and in which the rich blood gathering at the common heart is sent throbbing into every part of the body politic—why is one section held separated from the rest in alien consideration? We can understand why this should be so in a city that has a community of local interests; or in a state still clothed in that sovereignty of which the debates of peace and the storm of war has not stripped her. But why should a number of states, stretching from Richmond to Galveston, bound together by no local interests, held in no autonomy, be thus combined and drawn to a common center? That man would be absurd who declaimed in Buffalo against the wrongs of the Middle States, ~~or~~ who demanded in Chicago a convention

for the West to consider the needs of that section.

If then it be provincialism that holds the South together, let us outgrow it; if it be sectionalism, let us root it out of our hearts; but if it be something deeper than these and essential to our system, let us declare it with frankness, consider it with respect, defend it with firmness, and in dignity abide its consequence. What is it that holds the Southern States—though true in thought and deed to the Union—so closely bound in sympathy today? For a century these States championed a governmental theory, but that, having triumphed in every forum, fell at last by the sword. They maintained an institution—but that, having been administered in the fullest wisdom of man, fell at last in the higher wisdom of God. They fought a war—but the prejudices of that war have died, its sympathies have broadened, and its memories are already the priceless treasure of the republic that is cemented forever with its blood. They looked out together upon the ashes of their

homes and the desolation of their fields—but out of pitiful resource they have fashioned their homes anew, and plenty rides on the springing harvests. In all the past there is nothing to draw them into essential or lasting alliance—nothing in all that heroic record that cannot be rendered unfearing from provincial hands into the keeping of American history.

But the future holds a problem, in solving which the South must stand alone; in dealing with which, she must come closer together than ambition or despair have driven her, and on the outcome of which her very existence depends. This problem is to carry within her body politic two separate races, and nearly equal in numbers. She must carry these races in peace—for discord means ruin. She must carry them separately—for assimilation means debasement. She must carry them in equal justice—for to this she is pledged in honor and in gratitude. She must carry them even unto the end, for in human probability she will never be quit of either.

This burden no other people bears today—on none hath it ever rested. Without precedent or companionship, the South must bear this problem, the awful responsibility of which should win the sympathy of all human kind, and the protecting watchfulness of God—alone, even unto the end. Set by this problem apart from all other peoples of the earth, and her unique position emphasized rather than relieved, as I shall show hereafter, by her material conditions, it is not only fit, but it is essential that she should hold her brotherhood unimpaired, quicken her sympathies, and in the lights or in the shadows of this surpassing problem work out her own salvation in the fear of God—but of God alone.

What shall the South do to be saved? Through what paths shall she reach the end? Through what travail, or what splendors, shall she give to the Union this section, its wealth garnered, its resources utilized, and its rehabilitation complete—and restore to the world this problem solved

in such justice as the finite mind can measure, or finite hands administer?

In dealing with this I shall dwell on two points.

First, the duty of the South in its relation to the race problem.

Second, the duty of the South in relation to its no less unique and important industrial problem.

I approach this discussion with a sense of consecration. I beg your patient and cordial sympathy. And I invoke the Almighty God, that, having showered on this people His fullest riches, has put their hands to this task, that He will draw near unto us, as He drew near to troubled Israel, and lead us in the ways of honor and uprightness, even through a pillar of cloud by day, and a pillar of fire by night.

What of the negro? This of him. I want no better friend than the black boy who was raised by my side, and who is now trudging patiently with downcast eyes and shambling figure through his lowly way in life. I want no sweeter music than the

crooning of my old "mammy," now dead and gone to rest, as I heard it when she held me in her loving arms, and bending her old black face above me stole the cares from my brain, and led me smiling into sleep. I want no truer soul than that which moved the trusty slave, who for four years while my father fought with the armies that barred his freedom, slept every night at my mother's chamber door, holding her and her children as safe as if her husband stood guard, and ready to lay down his humble life on her threshold.

History has no parallel to the faith kept by the negro in the South during the war. Often five hundred negroes to a single white man, and yet through these dusky throngs the women and children walked in safety, and the unprotected homes rested in peace. Unmarshaled, the black battalions moved patiently to the fields in the morning to feed the armies their idleness would have starved, and at night gathered anxiously at the big house to "hear the news from marster," though conscious that

his victory made their chains enduring. Everywhere humble and kindly; the body-guard of the helpless; the rough companion of the little ones; the observant friend; the silent sentry in his lowly cabin; the shrewd counselor. And when the dead came home, a mourner at the open grave. A thousand torches would have disbanded every Southern army, but not one was lighted. When the master going to a war in which slavery was involved said to his slave, "I leave my home and loved ones in your charge," the tenderness between man and master stood disclosed. And when the slave held that charge sacred through storm and temptation, he gave new meaning to faith and loyalty. I rejoice that when freedom came to him after years of waiting, it was all the sweeter because the black hands from which the shackles fell were stainless of a single crime against the helpless ones confided to his care.

From this root, imbedded in a century of kind and constant companionship, has sprung some foliage. As no race had ever

lived in such unresisting bondage, none was ever hurried with such swiftness through freedom into power. Into hands still trembling from the blow that broke the shackles was thrust the ballot. In less than twelve months from the day he walked down the furrow a slave, a negro dictated in legislative halls from which Davis and Calhoun had gone forth, the policy of twelve commonwealths. When his late master protested against his misrule, the federal drum-beat rolled around his strongholds, and from a hedge of federal bayonets he grinned in good-natured insolence. From the proven incapacity of that day has he far advanced? Simple, credulous, impulsive—easily led and too often easily bought, is he a safer, more intelligent citizen now than then? Is this mass of votes, loosed from old restraints, inviting alliance or awaiting opportunity, less menacing than when its purpose was plain and its way direct?

My countrymen, right here the South must make a decision on which very much depends. Many wise men hold that the

white vote of the South should divide, the color line be beaten down, and the Southern states ranged on economic or moral questions as interest or belief demands. I am compelled to dissent from this view. The worst thing, in my opinion, that could happen is that the white people of the South should stand in opposing factions, with the vast mass of ignorant or purchasable negro votes between. Consider such a status. If the negroes were skilfully led—and leaders would not be lacking—it would give them the balance of power—a thing not to be considered. If their vote was not compacted, it would invite the debauching bid of factions, and drift surely to that which was the most corrupt and cunning. With the shiftless habit and irresolution of slavery days still possessing him, the negro voter will not in this generation,adrift from war issues, become a steadfast partisan through conscience or conviction. In every community there are colored men who redeem their race from this reproach, and who vote under reason. Perhaps in time the bulk

of this race may thus adjust itself. But through what long and monstrous periods of political debauchery this status would be reached, no tongue can tell.

The clear and unmistakable domination of the white race, dominating not through violence, not through party alliance, but through the integrity of its own vote and the largeness of its sympathy and justice through which it shall compel the support of the better classes of the colored race—that is the hope and assurance of the South. Otherwise, the negro would be bandied from one faction to another. His credulity would be played upon, his cupidity tempted, his impulses misdirected, his passions inflamed. He would be forever in alliance with that faction which was most desperate and unscrupulous. Such a state would be worse than reconstruction, for then intelligence was banded, and its speedy triumph assured. But with intelligence and property divided—bidding and overbidding for place and patronage—irritation increasing with each conflict—the bitterness and desperation

seizing every heart—political debauchery deepening, as each faction staked its all in the miserable game—there would be no end to this, until our suffrage was hopelessly sullied, our people forever divided, and our most sacred rights surrendered.

One thing further should be said in perfect frankness. Up to this point we have dealt with ignorance and corruption—but beyond this point a deeper issue confronts us. Ignorance may struggle to enlightenment, out of corruption may come the incorruptible. God speed the day when—every true man will work and pray for its coming—the negro must be led to know and through sympathy to confess that his interests and the interests of the people of the South are identical. The men who, from afar off, view this subject through the cold eye of speculation or see it distorted through partisan glasses insist that directly or indirectly the negro race shall be in control of the affairs of the South. We have no fears of this; already we are attracting to us the best elements of the race, and

as we proceed, our alliance will broaden; external pressure but irritates and impedes. Those who would put the negro race in supremacy would work against infallible decree, for the white race can never submit to its domination, because the white race is the superior race. But the supremacy of the white race of the South must be maintained forever, and the domination of the negro race resisted at all points and at all hazards—because the white race is the superior race. This is the declaration of no new truth. It has abided forever in the marrow of our bones, and shall run forever with the blood that feeds Anglo-Saxon hearts.

In political compliance the South has evaded the truth, and men have drifted from their convictions. But we cannot escape this issue. It faces us wherever we turn. It is an issue that has been, and will be. The races and tribes of earth are of divine origin. Behind the laws of man and the decrees of war, stands the law of God. What God hath separated let no man join

together. The Indian, the Malay, the Negro, the Caucasian, these types stand as markers of God's will. Let no man tinker with the work of the Almighty. Unity of civilization, no more than unity of faith, will never be witnessed on earth. No race has risen, or will rise, above its ordained place. Here is the pivotal fact of this great matter—two races are made equal in law, and in political rights, between whom the caste of race has set an impassable gulf. This gulf is bridged by a statute, and the races are urged to cross thereon. This cannot be. The fiat of the Almighty has gone forth, and in eighteen centuries of history it is written.

We would escape this issue if we could. From the depths of its soul the South invokes from heaven "peace on earth, and good will to man." She would not, if she could, cast this race back into the condition from which it was righteously raised. She would not deny its smallest or abridge its fullest privilege. Not to lift this burden forever from her people would she do the

least of these things. She must walk through the valley of the shadow, for God has so ordained. But He has ordained that she shall walk in that integrity of race that was created in His wisdom and has been perpetuated in His strength. Standing in the presence of this multitude, sobered with the responsibility of the message I deliver to the young men of the South, I declare that the truth above all others to be worn unsullied and sacred in your hearts, to be surrendered to no force, sold for no price, compromised in no necessity, but cherished and defended as the covenant of your prosperity, and the pledge of peace to your children, is that the white race must dominate forever in the South, because it is the white race, and superior to that race by which its supremacy is threatened.

It is a race issue. Let us come to this point, and stand here. Here the air is pure and the light is clear, and here honor and peace abide. Juggling and evasion deceive not a man. Compromise and subservience have carried not a point. There is not a

white man North or South who does not feel it stir in the gray matter of his brain and throb in his heart, not a negro who does not feel its power. It is not a sectional issue. It speaks in Ohio and in Georgia. It speaks wherever the Anglo-Saxon touches an alien race. It has just spoken in universally approved legislation in excluding the Chinaman from our gates, not for his ignorance, vice, or corruption, but because he sought to establish an inferior race in a republic fashioned in the wisdom and defended by the blood of a homogeneous people.

The Anglo-Saxon blood has dominated always and everywhere. It fed Alfred when he wrote the charter of English liberty; it gathered about Hampden as he stood beneath the oak; it thundered in Cromwell's veins as he fought his king; it humbled Napoleon at Waterloo; it has touched the desert and jungle with undying glory; it carried the drumbeat of England around the world and spread on every continent the gospel of liberty and of God; it

established this republic, carved it from the wilderness, conquered it from the Indians, wrested it from England, and at last, stilling its own tumult, consecrated it forever as the home of the Anglo-Saxon, and the theater of his transcending achievement. Never one foot of it can be surrendered, while that blood lives in American veins and feeds American hearts, to the domination of an alien and inferior race.

The South needs her sons today more than when she summoned them to the forum to maintain her political supremacy, more than when the bugle called them to the field to defend issues put to the arbitrament of the sword. Her old body is instinct with appeal calling on us to come and give her fuller independence than she has ever sought in field or forum. It is ours to show that as she prospered with slaves she shall prosper still more with freemen; ours to see that from the lists she entered in poverty she shall emerge in prosperity; ours to carry the transcending traditions of the old South, from which none of us can in honor

or in reverence depart, unstained and unbroken into the new.

Shall we fail? Shall the blood of the old South—the best strain that ever uplifted human endeavor—that ran like water at duty's call and never stained where it touched—shall this blood that pours into our veins through a century luminous with achievement, for the first time falter and be driven back from irresolute heart, when the old South, that left us a better heritage in manliness and courage than in broad and rich acres, calls us to settle problems?

A soldier lay wounded on a hard-fought field, the roar of the battle had died away, and he rested in the deadly stillness of its aftermath. Not a sound was heard as he lay there, sorely smitten and speechless, but the shriek of wounded and the sigh of the dying soul, as it escaped from the tumult of earth into the unspeakable peace of the stars. Off over the field flickered the lanterns of the surgeons with the litter bearers, searching that they might take away those whose lives could be saved and

leave in sorrow those who were doomed to die with pleading eyes through the darkness. This poor soldier watched, unable to turn or speak as the lantern drew near. At last the light flashed in his face, and the surgeon, with kindly face, bent over him, hesitated a moment, shook his head, and was gone, leaving the poor fellow alone with death. He watched in patient agony as they went from one part of the field to another.

As they came back the surgeon bent over him again. "I believe if this poor fellow lives to sundown tomorrow he will get well." And again leaving him, not to death but with hope; all night long these words fell into his heart as the dew fell from the stars upon his lips, "if he but lives till sundown, he will get well."

He turned his weary head to the east and watched for the coming sun. At last the stars went out, the east trembled with radiance, and the sun, slowly lifting above the horizon, tinged his pallid face with flame. He watched it inch by inch as it climbed slowly up the heavens. He thought

of life, its hopes and ambitions, its sweetness and its raptures, and he fortified his soul against despair until the sun had reached high noon. It sloped down its slow descent, and his life was ebbing away and his heart was faltering, and he needed stronger stimulants to make him stand the struggle until the end of the day had come. He thought of his far-off home, the blessed house resting in tranquil peace with the roses climbing to its door, and the trees whispering to its windows and dozing in the sunshine, the orchard and the little brook running like a silver thread through the forest.

“If I live till sundown I will see it again. I will walk down the shady lane; I will open the battered gate, and the mocking-bird shall call to me from the orchard, and I will drink again at the old mossy spring.”

And he thought of the wife who had come from the neighboring farmhouse and put her hands shyly in his, and brought sweetness to his life and light to his home.

“If I live till sundown I shall look once more into her deep and loving eyes and

press her brown head once more to my aching breast."

And he thought of the old father, patient in prayer, bending lower and lower every day under his load of sorrow and old age.

"If I but live till sundown I shall see him again and wind my strong arm about his feeble body, and his hands shall rest upon my head while the unspeakable healing of his blessing falls into my heart."

And he thought of the little children that clambered on his knees and tangled their little hands into his heartstrings, making to him such music as the world shall not equal or heaven surpass.

"If I live till sundown they shall again find my parched lips with their warm mouths, and their little fingers shall run once more over my face."

And he then thought of his old mother, who gathered these children about her and breathed her old heart afresh in their brightness and attuned her old lips anew to their prattle, that she might live till her big boy came home.

“If I live till sundown I will see her again, and I will rest my head at my old place on her knees, and weep away all memory of this desolate night.” And the Son of God, who died for men, bending from the stars, put the hand that had been nailed to the cross on the ebbing life and held on the staunch until the sun went down and the stars came out and shone down in the brave man’s heart and blurred in his glistening eyes, and the lanterns of the surgeons came and he was taken from death to life.

The world is a battlefield strewn with the wrecks of government and institutions, of theories and of faiths that have gone down in the ravage of years. On this field lies the South, sown with her problems. Upon this field swing the lanterns of God. Amid the carnage walks the Great Physician. Over the South he bends. “If ye but live until tomorrow’s sundown ye shall endure, my countrymen.” Let us for her sake turn our faces to the east and watch as the soldier watched for the coming sun. Let us staunch her wounds and hold steadfast.

The sun mounts the skies. As it descends to us, minister to her and stand constant at her side for the sake of our children and of generations unborn that shall suffer if she fails. And when the sun has gone down and the day of her probation has ended and the stars have rallied her heart, the lanterns shall be swung over the field and the Great Physician shall lead her up from trouble into content, from suffering into peace, from death to life.

Let every man here pledge himself in this high and ardent hour, as I pledge myself and the boy that shall follow me; every man himself and his son, hand to hand and heart to heart, that in death and earnest loyalty, in patient painstaking and care, he shall watch her interest, advance her fortune, defend her fame and guard her honor as long as life shall last. Every man in the sound of my voice, under the deeper consecration he offers to the Union, will consecrate himself to the South, have no ambition but to be first at her feet and last at her service,—no hope but, after a long

life of devotion, to sink to sleep in her bosom, as a little child sleeps at his mother's breast and rests untroubled in the light of her smile.

With such consecrated service, what could we not accomplish; what riches we should gather for her; what glory and prosperity we should render to the Union; what blessings we should gather unto the universal harvest of humanity. As I think of it, a vision of surpassing beauty unfolds to my eyes. I see a South, a home of fifty millions of people, who rise up every day to call her blessed; her cities, vast hives of industry and of thrift; her countrysides the treasures from which their resources are drawn; her streams vocal with whirring spindles; her valleys tranquil in the white and gold of the harvest; her mountains showering down the music of bells, as her slow-moving flocks and herds go forth from their folds; her rulers honest and her people loving, and her homes happy and their hearthstones bright, and their waters still, and their pastures green, and her conscience clear; her wealth diffused and

poor-houses empty, her churches earnest and all creeds lost in the gospel. Peace and sobriety walking hand in hand through her borders; honor in her homes; uprightness in her midst; plenty in her fields; straight and simple faith in the hearts of her sons and daughters; her two races walking together in peace and contentment; sunshine everywhere and all the time, and night falling on her gently as from the wings of the unseen dove.

All this, my country, and more can we do for you. As I look the vision grows, the splendor deepens, the horizon falls back, the skies open their everlasting gates, and the glory of the Almighty God streams through as He looks down on His people who have given themselves unto Him, and leads them from one triumph to another until they have reached a glory unspeakable, and the whirling stars, as in their courses through Arcturus they run to the milky way, shall not look down on a better people or happier land.

CHRONOLOGY

ATTICUS GREENE HAYGOOD was born at Watkinsville, Georgia, in 1839.

Attended Emory College, from which he was graduated in 1858.

After the evacuation of Atlanta by General Sherman he was sent there to gather together the scattered Methodists and rebuild the churches.

1876-94 was president of Emory College.

Was editor of Wesleyan Christian Advocate.

In 1883 was chosen general agent of the state's fund of \$1,000,000 for the education of the negroes.

In 1890 was elected Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal church.

Died at Oxford, Georgia, January 19, 1896.

ATTICUS G. HAYGOOD

"THE NEW SOUTH," "A THANKSGIVING SERMON DELIVERED AT EMORY COLLEGE, OXFORD, GA., NOVEMBER 25, 1880

I may possibly, but I trust not, speak of some things that you may not relish, and advance some views that you may not approve. If so, I only ask a fair and reasonable reflection upon them. If you should condemn them, I have left me at least the satisfaction of being quite sure that I am right, and that, if you live long enough, you will agree with me. And first, we of the South have great reason to be thankful to God that we are in all respects so well off; and that, too, so soon after so great a war, so complete an overturning of our institutions, so entire an overthrow of our industries, so absolute a defeat of our most cherished plans. Recall briefly the last twenty years. Think of what we were in 1860 and in 1865. Then look about you

and see what we are in 1880. What was thought by our people after Appomattox and April, 1865, as to the prospect before us? Some of you can recall the forebodings of that time as to the return of business prosperity, the restoration and preservation of civil and social order among ourselves, and the restoration of our relations to the Union. You know how many of our best and bravest left our section forever in sheer despair. Behold, now, what wonders have been wrought in fifteen years.

I. Considering where and what we were fifteen years ago, considering the financial convulsions and panics that have swept over our country during that time, I might say that have disturbed the civilized world, our industrial and financial condition is marvellously good. It is not true, as certain croakers and "Bourbons," floated from their moorings by the rising tide of new and better ideas, are so fond of saying, that the South is getting poorer every day. These croakings are not only unseemly, they are false in their statements, as they are

ungrateful in their sentiment. A right study of our tax returns will show that there is life and progress in the South. But statistical tables are not the only witnesses in such a case. Let people use their own eyes. Here is this one fact—the cotton crop, as an exponent of the power of industrial system. In 1879 we made nearly five million bales; in 1880 it is believed that we will make nearly six million bales. We never made so much under the old system. It is nonsense to talk of a country as ruined that can do such things. There are more people at work in the South today than were ever at work before; and they are raising not only more cotton, but more of everything else. And no wonder, for the farming of today is better than the farming of the old days, and in two grand particulars: first, better culture; and second, the ever-increasing tendency to break up the great plantations into small farms. Our present system is more than restoring what the old system destroyed.

The great body of our people not only

make more than they did before the war, but they make a better use of it—they get unspeakably more comfort out of it. I am willing to make the comparison on any line of things that you may suggest, for I know both periods. Remember that I am speaking of the great mass of the people, and not of the few great slaveholders, some of whom lived like princes, not forgetting, meantime, that the majority of our people never owned slaves at all.

For one illustration, take, if you please, the home life of our people. There is ten times the comfort there was twenty years ago. Travel through your own country—and it is rather below than above the average—by any public or private road. Compare the old and the new houses. The houses built recently are better every way than those built before the war. I do not speak of an occasional mansion, that in the old times lifted itself proudly among a score of cabins, but of the thousands of decent farmhouses, comely cottages, that have been built in the last ten years. I know

scores whose new barns are better than their old residences. Our people have better furniture. Good mattresses have largely driven out the old-time feathers. Cook stoves, sewing-machines, with all such comforts and conveniences, may be seen in a dozen homes today where you could hardly have found them in one in 1860. Lamps that make reading agreeable have driven out tallow dips, by whose glimmering no eyes could long read and continue to see. Better taste asserts itself; the new houses are painted; they have not only glass, but blinds. There is more comfort inside. There are luxuries where once there were not conveniences. Carpets are getting to be common among the middle classes. There are parlor organs, pianos, and pictures, where we never saw them before. And so on, to the end of a long chapter.

Test the question of our better condition by the receipts of benevolent institutions, the support of the ministry, the building improvement and furnishing of churches, and we have the same answer. Our people

are better off now than in 1860. In reply to all this, some will say: "But it costs more to live than in 1860." I answer: "True enough; but there is more to live for."

II. The social and civil order existing in the Southern states is itself wonderful, and an occasion for profound gratitude. For any wrongs that have been done in our section, for any acts of violence on any pretext, for any disobedience to law, I have not one word of defence. Admitting, for argument's sake, all that the bitterest of our censors have ever said on these subjects, I still say that, considering what were the conditions of life in the Southern states after April, 1865, the civil and social order that exists in the South is wonderful. Our critics and censors forget, we must believe, the history of other countries. They have never comprehended the problem we had given us to work out after the surrender; only those who have lived through that period can ever understand it. Why, has not this whole Southern country

repeated the scenes of Hayti and San Domingo? Not the repressive power of a strong government only; not the fear of the stronger race only; not that suggestions have been lacking from fierce and narrow fanatics; but chiefly in this—the conservative power of the Protestant religion, which had taken such deep root in the hearts and lives of our people. The controlling sentiment of the Southern people, in city and hamlet, in camp and field, among the white and black, has been religious.

III. The restoration of our relations to the general government should excite our gratitude. Possibly some do not go with me here. Then I must go without them, but I shall not lack for company, and as the years pass it will be an ever-increasing throng. We must distinguish between a party we have for the most part antagonized, and the government it has so long controlled. Whatever may be the faults of the party in power, or of the party out of power, this is, nevertheless, so far as I know, altogether the most satisfactory and

desirable government in the world, and I am thankful to God, the disposer of the affairs of nations and of men, that our states are again in relations with the general government.

Should we be surprised or discouraged because our section does not control the government? History, if not reason, should teach us better. Is there a parallel to our history since 1860—war bitter, continued and destructive, defeat utter and overwhelming, and all followed so soon by so great political influence and consideration as we now enjoy? When did a defeated and conquered minority ever before in the short space of fifteen years regain such power and influence in any age or nation? And this is the more wonderful when we consider the immeasurable capacity for blundering which the leaders of the dominant party in our section have manifested during those years of political conflict. And it is the more wonderful still when we consider how ready the dominant party of the other section has been to receive,

as the expression of the fixed though secret sentiment of the mass of the Southern people, the wild utterances of a few extreme impracticables, who have never forgotten and have never learned. I tell you today that the sober-minded people who had read history did not in 1865 expect that our relations with the general government would be by 1880 as good as they are. But they would have been better than they are if the real sentiment of the masses on both sides could have gotten itself fairly expressed; for these masses wish to be friends, and before very long they will sweep from their way those who seek to hinder them. My congregation, looked at on all sides and measured by any tests, it is one of the wonders of history that our people have, in so short a time—fifteen years is a very short time in the history of a nation,—so far overcome the evil effects of one of the most bloody and desolating and exasperating wars ever waged in this world. And the facts speak worlds for our Constitution, for our form of government, and above all for

our Protestant religion—a religion which will yet show itself to be the best healer of national wounds and the best reconciler of estranged brethren.

IV. There is one great historic fact which should, in my sober judgment, above all other things, excite everywhere in the South profound gratitude to Almighty God. I mean the abolition of African slavery.

If I speak only for myself, and I am persuaded that I do not, then be it so. But I, for one, thank God that there is no longer slavery in these United States. I am persuaded that I only say what the vast majority of our people feel and believe. I do not forget the better characteristics of African slavery as it existed among us for so long a time under the sanction of national law and under the protection of the Constitution of the United States; I do not forget that its worst features were often cruelly exaggerated, and that its best were unfairly minimized; more than all, I do not forget that, in the providence of God, a work that is without a parallel in history was done on

the Southern plantation,—a work that was begun by such men as Bishop Capers of South Carolina, Lovick Pierce and Bishop Andrew of Georgia, and by men like minded with them,—a work whose expenses were met by the slave-holders themselves,—a work that resulted in the Christianizing of a full half million of the African people, who became communicants of our churches, and of nearly the whole four or five millions who were brought largely under the all-pervasive and redeeming influence of our holy religion.

I have nothing to say at this time of the particular “war measure” that brought about their immediate and unconditioned enfranchisement, only that it is history, and that it is done for once and for all. I am not called on, in order to justify my position, to approve the political unwisdom of suddenly placing the ballot in the hands of nearly a million of unqualified men—only that, since it is done, this also is history, that we of the South should accept, and that our fellow-citizens of the North

should never disturb it. But all these things, bad as they may have been, and unfortunate as they may yet be, are only incidental to the one great historic fact, that slavery exists no more. For this fact I devoutly thank God this day. And on many accounts:

1. For the negroes themselves. While they have suffered and will suffer many things in their struggle for existence, I do nevertheless believe that in the long run it is best for them. How soon they shall realize the possibilities of their new relations depends largely, perhaps most, on themselves. Much depends on those who, under God, set them free. By every token this whole nation should undertake the problem of their education. That problem will have to be worked out on the basis of co-operation; that is, they must be helped to help themselves. To make their education an absolute gratuity will perpetuate many of the misconceptions and weaknesses of character which now embarrass and hinder their progress. Much also depends on the

Southern white people, their sympathy, their justice, their wise and helpful co-operation. This we should give them, not reluctantly, but gladly, for their good and for the safety of all, for their elevation and for the glory of God. How we may do this may be matter for discussion hereafter.

2. I am grateful that slavery no longer exists, because it is better for the white people of the South. It is better for our industries and our business, as proved by the crops that free labor makes. But by eminence it is better for our social and ethical development. We will now begin to take our right place among both the conservative and aggressive forces of the civilized and Christian world.

3. I am grateful because it is unspeakably better for our children and our children's children. It is better for them in a thousand ways. I have not time for discussion in detail now. But this, if nothing else, proves the truth of my position: there are more white children at work in the South today than ever before. And this goes

far to account for the six million bales of cotton. Our children are growing up to believe that idleness is vagabondage. One other thing I wish to say before leaving this point. We hear much about the disadvantages to our children of leaving them among several millions of freedmen. I recognize them, and feel them; but I would rather leave my children among several millions of free negroes than among several millions of negroes in slavery.

But, leaving out of view at this time all discussion of the various benefits that may come through the enfranchisement of the negroes, I am thankful on the broad and unqualified ground that there is now no slavery in all our land.

Does anyone say to me this day: "You have got new light; you have changed the opinions you entertained twenty years ago," I answer humbly, but gratefully, and without qualification: "I have got new light. I do now believe many things that I did not believe twenty years ago. Moreover, if it please God to spare me in this world

twenty years longer, I hope to have, on many difficult problems, more new light. I expect, if I see the dawn of 1900, to believe some things that I now reject, and to reject some things that I now believe. And I shall not be alone."

* * * * *

My friends, my neighbors, and my pupils, I declare to you my hope that, in twenty years from now, the words "the South" shall have only a geographical significance. . . . I have spoken what I solemnly believe to be the truth. Moreover, the time has fully come when these truths should be spoken by somebody; and I try to do my part, persuaded that before many years there will happily be no longer any occasion or need for them to be spoken. There is no reason why the South should be despondent. Let us cultivate industry and economy, observe law and order, practice virtue and justice, walk in truth and righteousness, and press on with strong hearts and good hopes. The true golden day of the South

is yet to dawn. But the light is breaking, and presently the shadows will flee away. Its fulness of splendor I may never see; but my children will see it, and I wish them to get ready for it while they may.





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